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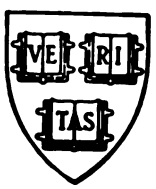

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WESTERN EUROPE
IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY
AND ONWARD

16

WESTERN EUROPE

IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY & ONWARD

AN AFTERMATH

BY THE LATE

E. A. FREEMAN, M.A., Hon. D.C.L.

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IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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PREFACE

THE present volume consists of portions of courses of lectures given by the late Mr. Freeman as Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. It was known by his friends that he had the intention of writing a history of this period, and when search was made among his papers ample evidence existed that he had already begun upon the task. His plan of work seems to have been simple. When he felt inclined he wrote out completely portions of his subject and prepared for them a more or less complete apparatus of notes and references. In his own mind he had evidently arranged the sequence of his chapters, and it is also clear that he had intended, as opportunity occurred, to fill in the narrative with chapters which unfortunately he never lived to write. To those who know the general history of this period the volume will most commend itself. It is a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the West of Europe in the eighth century. The chapters and sections which concern the tenth century belong to the same subject. They all bring before us the development and the safeguarding of the same idea. When the late Professor York Powell undertook to see this volume through the press he was very definite in his opinion that these chapters ought to be published. They answer numerous questions which have occurred to readers and which hitherto have

more or less remained unanswered. They offer explanations on dark and obscure actions which are felicitous and generally convincing. Unfortunately Professor York Powell only set to work on the earlier pages of the volume on the fifth century. Beyond sending the MS. to the press he is not responsible for anything in the present volume. Nor has the present editor had anything to guide him. He was not aware of the mind of the late Mr. Freeman, nor had he ever discussed with the late Mr. York Powell his intentions as to these volumes. Beyond some few detached sheets of the MSS. which he was able to recover from among Mr. York Powell's papers, he has only had the rough proofs from the press on which to work. In the notes and references Mr. Freeman had at times only indicated the source of the reference, and it has been the editor's careful endeavour to find the exact reference and to fill in the many side-references which Mr. Freeman had made to earlier chapters and to chapters which he had meant to write but never accomplished. When he undertook the task he did not realize how much of the little time he had to spare the work would demand, and he has done his best to make the notes and references as complete and accurate as possible. Only those who know how vague and meagre is our knowledge of this period can possibly appreciate the excellent work done on this subject by the late Mr. Freeman. In the present volume he has certainly given us some of the best of his historic labours.

T. SCOTT HOLMES.

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WESTERN EUROPE

IN

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

I.

BALTHILD AND EBROIN*.

NEVER did any man fail more utterly in an attempt at the aggrandizement of himself, his family, or his party than Grimoald had failed in his attempt to dispossess the royal house before its time. He had done everything which he had most wished not to do. He had fallen from his own great position and had ended both power and life by a premature and cruel death. His son, whom he had striven to make a king and who had a good hope of being one day the guardian of kings, vanishes from the scene, and the male line of the first Pippin vanishes with him. The dreams of Grimoald were to become realities a hundred years later; all that he had striven for was to come to the lot of his folk and of his kin, but not to the lot of his immediate descendants. That chance his own act had shivered. The East was to assert its dominion over the West; the Frank who clave to the old heritage of his race was to win the supremacy over the Frank who had come within the spell of Roman influence; Austrasian mayors were to guide and rule Neustrian kings, and in the end themselves to grow into kings and more than kings. And the men who were to do all this were to be of the blood of the first

[* The projected account of the beginnings of the House of the Karlings and of the Mayoralties of Pippin the Elder, Ansgisl and Grimoald was not written. The present piece was to have followed it.]

Pippin; it was the rash act of Grimoald himself which had taken away that splendid calling from his own line and the male line of his father. Yet the man who was to begin again the work which Grimoald had cut short was bound to him by a tie which, in the ideas of those times, was hardly less near than the tie which binds a son to his father. The power and place which he had thrown away were to pass in years to come to the son of his sister. After the fall of Grimoald and Childeberht, the representative of both the great partners in the work of forty years back was the common grandson of Saint Arnulf and of the first Pippin, Pippin the son of Ansgisl and Begga. His two grandfathers had lived and worked to one end, and their common descendant had inherited the calling of both. Representative by male descent of the saint of Metz, representative by name, by office, and by female descent, of the first of the Pippins, the second bearer of that name inherited a kind of mixed personality from two such renowned forefathers. He was in due time again to take up their work, the work which Grimoald had cut short. Could that work have been taken up at once, the chief actor might well have been Ansgisl rather than his son. But the act of Grimoald had thrust back the hopes both of his folk and of his kin for years. Ansgisl could not so well represent the united house as his son, the grandson of both its chiefs. Pippin then, not his father, was to be the founder of the greatness of the Austrasian Franks and of the mightiest house among them.

But thirty years were to pass before the second Pippin could rise to the place of the first, thirty years for the most part of confusion and civil war. Indeed it needed two such intermediate times before the line of the Karlings could rise to their full greatness; a second period of confusion followed the death of the second Pippin. But that was for a far shorter time, and was a direct struggle between the house of Pippin and its enemies. In the earlier part of the present time of strife the house of

Pippin has not as yet recovered any standing-ground for a struggle. The career of the first Pippin has established the principle that the King must have a Mayor to guide him; but that is all. The office, whether of all the three Frankish kingdoms or of one of them only, is open for every man who has enough of daring supported by enough of power to make a stroke for. Down to the revolution wrought by Arnulf and Pippin, the kings themselves strove with their brothers and nephews for any fragment of the Frankish dominion which they sought to add to the territory which had already fallen to them. Now the kings themselves strive no longer; other men strive in their names for the exercise of their authority. He who would govern must be ready with a king of the kingly stock who shall reign while he governs. It becomes harder to remember the kings than it was when we had the living pictures of Chilperic and Guntchramn traced for us by the hand of Gregory. But Gregory himself could not have painted a living picture of the kings with whom we have now to deal; there were no materials for his pencil. The house of Chlodowig has as yet hardly reached its lowest degradation; it is still possible by an effort to distinguish one king from another. Still the effort is needful; the succession is hard to carry in the head. On the other hand, if the kings are harder to remember, their kingdoms are much easier; Gaul has settled itself down into an intelligible geography. The names Austria, Neustria, Burgundy, are now fully established as the names of known portions of the earth's surface, with fairly ascertained limits. Aquitaine, for a moment the kingdom of Chariberht, is beginning to slip away altogether out of Frankish reckonings.

It is perhaps instructive to pause for a moment more distinctly to compare the state of things in the Frankish kingdoms with the events which were going on in our own island. Britain and the mainland are becoming more and more closely connected, chiefly by ecclesiastical ties. In

one English kingdom a Frankish prelate holds the Bishop-stool. Ægelberht had made his way from Gaul to Dorchester; but it was by way of the island which had sent forth so many teachers to all parts. The coming of so many holy men from Ireland to plant the faith where it still needed planting in Germany, and even in Gaul, had led men of Frankish birth to seek in return in that distant island for a stricter discipline and more perfect teaching than they could find in their own land. So the second Bishop of the West-Saxons had found his way to his diocese by this somewhat roundabout journey, from Gaul to Ireland and from Ireland to Britain[1]. Eleven years he abode in Wessex (649–660), and came back four years after the death of Sigeberht and the fall of Grimoald to exchange his bishopric on the Thames for that, as our Chroniclers point on, of Paris of the Gal-Welsh on the Seine[2]. He came back because, as Bæda tells us, King Cenwealh, weary of his barbarous speech, so divided his diocese as to remove him from his immediate presence[3]. What was the

[1] Bæda, iii. 7, p. 140; "Venit in provinciam de Hibernia pontifex quidam nominè Agilberctus, natione quidam Gallus, sed tunc legendarum gratia scripturarum in Hibernia non parvo tempore demoratus." In the English Chronicles, 650, he is "Ægelbryht of Galwalum," so distinguished from "Byrine þam Romaniscan biscop." In the late Canterbury Chronicle he is "Ægebertus se Frencisca." By that the writer most likely meant *French* in the sense of his day and ours; "of Galwalum" is simply geographical.

[2] Chron. 660; "Her Ægelbryht biscop gewat fram Cenwale ... and ... onfeng Persa biscopdomes on Galwalum bi Signe." We get a picture of him there in the Life of a Frankish saint clearly written long after (Vita S. Baboleni, Duchèsne, i. 638). Audobertus—so his name is written – Bishop of Paris, finds Babolenus praying and weeping in the church of Our Lady, and asks who he is. Babolenus says that he is a stranger from Italy, a scholar of Columban. The Bishop tells him, "et ego sum peregrinus, a transmarinis huc devolutus partibus, et regis Angliæ nomine Choinvalæ persecutionem cupiens evadere, episcopatum urbis reliqui propriæ et hanc Francorum patriam cum labore adivi olim mihi incognitam." His Frankish birth was now forgotten.

[3] Bæda, u. s.; "Rex, qui Saxonum tantum linguam noverat, pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ, subintroduxit in provinciam aliam ... episcopum," &c.

speech which, on the lips of a Frank, sounded barbarous in the ears of a West-Saxon king? The question is of some importance in the history of language in Gaul. Surely such a name as "barbarous" would never be applied to Latin or to any child of Latin, even in the most corrupt form that the tongue of Rome may have put on among either Neustrian Franks or Neustrian Romans. Moreover the epithet comes, not from the West-Saxon king himself, but from a reporter in distant Northumberland. Ægelberht, we may suspect, spoke to Cenwealh in his native Frankish. A Roman would either have spoken by an interpreter or have tried to master the English tongue as so many Englishmen succeeded in mastering the Latin. But we may believe that, in the middle of the seventh century, the speech of the Frank had not so far departed from the speech of the Angle or the Saxon but that the speakers of the one might still, by an effort, follow the speakers of the other. But it was only by an effort, and of all efforts none is more painful than that of following a speaker whose words are half understood. Whether Cenwealh called the speech of the Frankish bishop "barbarous"—he perhaps, however untruly, said *Welsh*—or not, we can fully understand that, at the end of eleven years, he had got thoroughly tired of his talk. A little thought enables us to take in the difference in matters of speech between Gaul and Teutonic Britain. On the mainland two languages, the languages of the two great elements of the people, were still spoken as mother-tongues. But both were changing. The speech of the Roman was passing away step by step into that Romance speech of which we get our first written example two hundred years later[1]. Men strove when they wrote to cleave to a purer Latin than the *Roman* of their daily speech; but, till the older and the newer forms had parted further asunder, they found it hard to do so. Meanwhile the Teutonic speech of the Frank was fast putting on those peculiarities of

[1] I mean the Oath of Strassburg in Nithard.

the later High-Dutch which in the end parted it off so widely from the elder speech of the Saxon. The Saxon himself, whether on the mainland or in the island, had no such difficulties. On the mainland he clave to those elder forms of the common speech from which the Frank was passing away. So he clave in the island also; but in the island some at least were beginning to adopt by its side the speech of the Roman as the tongue of learning and religion. Learning it as a foreign tongue, they had no such temptation to corrupt—or to develope—it as those with whom it was the speech of daily life. The Roman of Neustria handled his spoken Latin with the rude familiarity of one to whom it was the speech of childhood; the Saxon of Britain—we shall soon have specially to say the Angle—handled his Latin—his "book Latin," as he emphatically called it[1]—with the distant respect due to the foreign speech of the city which still seemed mistress of the world.

In all this we get the same contrast as in everything else. Among the Teutonic settlers in Britain, each folk and its speech, the one folk and the one speech of the land in which it settled, all is still young, fresh, vigorous. Among the Teutonic settlers in Roman Gaul, settled on fairly equal terms among the conquerors, Frank and Roman, dwelling side by side, both elements are already decaying. The dates are instructive. Dagobert, friend of the saints, had drawn near the end of his reign, Arnulf had withdrawn to his hermitage, before the West-Saxons first had a Christian king in Cynegils (635). Cenwealh, who wearied of Ægelberht's foreign speech, was the first founder of the church of Winchester, a seat of the faith new indeed beside that Paris to which Ægelberht came back. That bishop's place in England was taken by a man of English birth and speech, but who had taken to the ecclesiastical life of Frank-

[1] Of the five tongues of Britain, the Latin "quæ meditatione scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis" (Bæda, i. 1, p. 11) becomes, in the opening of the Chronicles, "Boc Leden."

ish growth[1]. Thus far the younger learns of the elder; but the tables are soon to be turned. The series has already begun of those holy men of Celtic birth, Scots for the most part of the elder Scotland, who felt so strange a call to leave the islands where, one would have thought, there was so much still to do, to seek a missionary field in Germany and even in Gaul. And the Celtic series is presently to be continued in an English series, which supplied the continental Church with some of its greatest names. We are still a good way from the days of West-Saxon Winfrith or Boniface, but Northumbrian Wilfrith will in a few years begin to play a part on Frankish and Frisian as well as on English soil. In the very year that we have reached a man comes to the front in Frankish history, whose name and whose acts are alike perplexing. What manner of man the next famous Mayor was we may discuss presently. For the true form of the name he bore we may go to the English biographer of Wilfrith[2].

Never do we more earnestly long for the guidance of the Gregory of a hundred years earlier than when we are striving to come to a fair judgement of the character of Ebroin. He is commonly painted in the blackest colours. He is the tyrant and general oppressor of the land, the special enemy of the Church, rejoicing in the slaughter of her ministers, the general enemy of right and goodness in every shape. It is added, as part of the charge against him, that he was a man of low birth, who sought before all

[1] Bæda, iii. 7, p. 140; "Alium suæ linguæ episcopum, vocabulo Vini, et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum."

[2] What was the Teutonic word which men clothed in a Latin shape as Ebroinus? The barbarous tongue of the Frank puzzled Kentish Ædde as well as West-Saxon Cenwealh. The first part of the Mayor's name appears in three different shapes in the Life of Wilfrith. He is *Eadefyr-wine*, *Efer-wine*, *Yver-wini*, Eddius, c. 25, 27, 33. The first element is of course *Eofer*, the boar, the last is one of the most familiar and pleasing in all our nomenclature. The "godless duke," as the English visitor calls him, is so far at least the fellow of the Eadwine and the Godwine of our own history.

things to pull down the great men of the nation from their places[1]. It is clear, not only that this charge may mean a course of action which might be approved or disapproved according to social and political traditions, but it may mean any one of several very different courses of action. It might describe one of the noblest of careers, and it might describe one of the vilest. And there are other descriptions of Ebroin that might incline us to put the more favourable meaning on this one. He is described, according to a formula which becomes almost conventional, but which yet, whenever it is used, is meant to express facts, as the inflexible avenger of wrong-doing of every kind[2]. In the phrase of a later line, he "did justice"; that is, he punished with unflinching severity all disturbers of the public peace. This was a hard task, even in Gregory's day, and it is certainly not likely to have grown easier since his time. The avenger of wrong in those days could not afford to be a man of very delicate scruples. Crime had commonly to be detected and punished by means which in any other state of things would be themselves set down as crimes. The Frankish kings, the good King Guntchramn himself, had often to meet violence and

[1] The bad characters given to Ebroin are endless; the strongest language about him will naturally be found in the Lives of Saint Leodgar. In the Life of another Saint, also his victim, Ragnebert (Duchèsne, i. 626), he is painted at length; "Ebroinus nomine ex infimo genere ortus, Deo et Sanctis contrarius, in Majoris Dominatus honore fuerat sublimatus. Huic studium erat ut quoscumque ex Francorum genere alta ortos progenie nobilitate vidisset in seculi utilitate proficere, ipsos vel interfectos, aut effugatos, sublatos de medio, tales in eorum honore sublevaret, quos aut mollitie obligatos vel sensu debilitatos, aut utilitate aliqua parentelæ, non auderent ejus præceptis impiis resultare." A more remarkable description is that in the Life of Saint Præjectus or Prix (i. 673); "Ebroinus comes palatii, alias strenuus vir, sed in nece sacerdotum nimis ferox."

[2] This comes out in the Life of Saint Martial of Limoges (Bonnell, 156); "Ebroinus omnes nequitias seu iniquitates, quæ universa terra fiebant, superbos et iniquos homines super eorum facinoribus [puniens], viriliter supponebat; pax per omnem terram plena et perfecta adrisit."

treachery by violence and treachery of their own. If they had had to wait for judges and juries, the criminals would have been too much for them. We instinctively judge them by the standard of a sultan; we do not complain of cutting off heads or even of putting out eyes, so long as it is the right men whose heads fall or whose eyes are blinded. But this kind of justice, specially if enforced without favour, against powerful men, would win many enemies for him who enforced it. And it is further plain that any one whose calling it was to assert the kingly authority would have first of all to do all he could to break the overgrown power of the nobles, and in so doing he would be in some sort the deliverer of other classes of men. And it is plain again that action of this kind on the part of a mere officer of the king, an equal, perhaps by birth an inferior, of those against whom he acted, would, in the eyes of those whom it offended at all, seem ground for greater offence than when it was the action of the king himself. Ebroin may in this way have been the smiter of the nobles and thereby the protector of lesser men; and yet it may be somewhat dangerous to paint him, with some modern writers[1], as something like a modern Liberal statesman, following a conscious plan for pulling down the nobles and setting up the lesser freemen. The few particular actions of Ebroin that are recorded are hard and cruel, and give us the impression of a very different kind of man from Arnulf and Pippin. Yet we must remember that in these strange times, particular crimes, done at the bidding of the policy or passion of the moment, are not inconsistent with many habitual virtues, and that occasional acts of what we deem cruelty might sometimes be needed to carry out general purposes that were just and humane. It is possible to paint Ebroin in more lights than one, and, like other men who have been long written down, he is perhaps entitled to his

[1] Something like this, not put perhaps in so distinct a formula, seems the tendency of the *quasi*-defence of Ebroin in Fauriel (ii. 461, 473 et al.), and Bonnell (155). See Waitz, ii. 695; Richter, 175, note.

turn of being written up. The pity is that, great as clearly was the part that he played in his own time, we have such very small materials for writing him either down or up.

Far clearer than either the personal character or the political objects of Ebroin is his position as the head of a geographical, we might almost say a national party. The distinction between Austria and Neustria, between the Frank of the East, still cleaving in all points of speech and manners to the heritage of his Teutonic forefathers, and the Frank of the West, brought, more or less,—who shall say exactly how much?—within the magic of Roman influence, changed, more or less,—who shall say exactly how much?—after the models of Roman life and culture, is growing daily stronger and stronger. We begin dimly to see the land that is to be France and the land that is to be Germany, the people who are one day to be French and the people who are one day to be Germans. It is ominous of what was to come that the name *Franci* is at this time not uncommonly used to mark off the men of the Western kingdom from the men of the Eastern [1]. Nomenclature had in this matter to go backwards and forwards, according to the predominance of this or that side of the Frankish kingdom. Arnulf and Pippin had been distinctly Austrasian rulers, and Pippin had had to strive, sometimes unsuccessfully, against the Neustrian tendencies of Dagobert. The Neustrian side had gained greatly by the fall of Grimoald. His attempt to set up an East-Frankish king out of his own house had been defeated by the East-Franks themselves, who had of their own will

[1] I should say that this is the common use of the name in the Continuator of Fredegar. It also comes out clearly in the Gesta, 45; Duchesne, Script. Franc. i. p. 717; "Wulfoaldus per fugam evadit, in *Auster* reversus, *Franci* vero Leudesium eligunt." Here it is opposed to "Auster," exactly as it is long after by the Biographer of Louis the Pious. It is less remarkable to find "Franci" opposed to Burgundians, as in the Life of Saint Bathildis (Duchèsne, i. 666); "Facti sunt Burgundiones et Franci ex illo tempore uniti."

sought the Neustrian king to lord. The second Chlodowig ruled in name over all the dominions of the first; all *Francia* again for a moment saw its head in its founder's chosen home at Paris. He is king of three kingdoms; his mayor Erkenwald is mayor of three kingdoms. Neither king nor mayor is able to enjoy his extended power for any long time; but each was able to pass on its full extent, for a moment at least, to a successor. Chlodowig before his death seems to have lost the small share of understanding which now served for a Merowingian king. He either grew into active madness or sank into helpless idiotcy [1]. Some spoke of his end as a punishment for his irreverence in cutting off the arm of Saint Denis, an act which in some cases was allowed to count as an act of devotion [2]. He left three sons, all seemingly mere children. Frankish usage would have given each child his own kingdom, and each kingdom its own mayor. But the Franks, we are told, which most likely means the Neustrian Franks, determined to continue the unity of the kingdom in the eldest of the three boys, Chlotachar by name. He reigned under the guardianship of his English mother and of Erkenwald the mayor. It was a strange state of relationship; the child-king on the throne; his mother, once a slave, reigning in his name with queenly rank and authority [3], while the actual exercise of power was in the

[1] Fred. Cont. 91; "In extremis vitæ annis amens effectus vita caruit."

[2] Gesta, 44, where he gets one of his worst characters; "Eo tempore Chlodovicus brachium beati Dionysii Martyris abscidit, instigante diabolo. Per idem tempus concidit Regnum Francorum casibus pestiferis. . . . De hujus morte et fine nihil dignum historia recolit. Multi enim scriptores ejus finem condemnant, nescientes finem nequitiæ ejus in incertum de eo alia pro aliis reddentes et referentes." In the genealogy of the Karlings in Pertz, ii. 311, he is deposed and sent to be a monk at Corby.

[3] Gesta, 44; "Franci Chlotharium seniorem puerorum ex tribus sibi regem statuerunt, cum ipsa regina matre regnaturum." This proves more than the other passages in Waitz, ii. 141, which say only "regebat palatium" and the like. She signs with her son as his

hand of the man who had once been her owner. Once his living chattel, she was now his royal lady. The light thrown on manners is remarkable. Slavery takes many forms. The exaltation of Balthild could not have taken place among the slave-holding commonwealths of old, nor yet under the Roman Empire, so long as the Emperor was still the first of citizens, bound like other citizens by the law which shut out the freed woman from full Roman marriage. Still less could it happen in the slave-holding kingdoms and commonwealths of modern times, where an impassable physical barrier forbids. But it might well happen when the slave was of a kindred race and speech to her master, and when that master was a king who could lift up and set down according to his own will. In the system of a Frankish kingdom the slave-born queen could play, with more of legal sanction, the part often played in Mahometan courts by the mother of the Sultan, son of a slave. Balthild is not our first slave-queen, she is not even our first queen-mother who had risen from bondage; but she claims special notice, as the first queen-mother who had been bought of the foreign slave-merchant, and that merchant one who had brought his wares from our land.

Balthild bears the best of characters, as a just and pious queen, the careful guardian of her children, in all quarters save one [1]. And that, strange to say, is an English one.

partner in several documents in Pardessus, ii. 106, 115, 116. The style is remarkable; "Ut hæc præceptio firmior habeatur, nos et præcelsa domna et genetrix nostra Batildis regina manus nostræ signaculis subter eam decrevimus adfirmare." There are equivalent phrases in the others.

[1] She has a Life of her own as Sancta Bathildis (Duchêsne, i. 665); but take her character in the Life of another saint, the Abbess Bertila (i. 669); "Post discessum domini Chlodovei regis, religiosa et optima conjux ejus domina Baltachildis regina, tum parvulo filio rege Chlotario inreprehensibiliter regnum gubernabat Francorum, et ab omnibus pontificibus vel proceribus cunctoque populo regni sui, ejus meritis compellentibus, miro diligebatur affectu." The writer

What are we to make of the strange tale, recorded by the contemporary biographer of Wilfrith? We read how Wilfrith, on his first journey to Rome, is entertained by Dalfinus Archbishop of Lyons, who offers him his niece in marriage, together with adoption as a son. Wilfrith declines this offer; he goes on to Rome; he comes back to Lyons, and receives the tonsure, in correct Roman fashion, from his friend. But the wicked Jezebel Queen Balthild persecutes the Church and slays nine bishops, of whom Dalfinus is one. The English youth would fain share his martyrdom, but, being known for an English youth and not a Frankish bishop, he is let go [1].

Now it is quite certain that Balthild was the very opposite to a Jezebel, that there was no massacre of bishops in her day, and that there never was an archbishop of Lyons call Dalfinus. Yet here is this story in a writer not quite contemporary with the alleged facts, but contemporary with the person whom those facts so deeply concerned. Ædde, called in religion Stephen, must have heard some story from Wilfrith which he confused in a wonderful way. But, it is certain that Balthild never ordered the slaughter of nine bishops, it is certain that one very famous bishop not many years after her time was put to death, and it seems to be fairly made out that one bishop, perhaps more than one, was put to death while she

goes on with the picture of a good queen, and distinctly claims for Balthild an effective share in the government. Yet a panegyric of her in that character comes very nearly to a panegyric of Ebroin.

[1] See Eddius' Life of Wilfrith, c. 4, 5, 6. In the last chapter we read, "Illo tempore malevola regina nomine Baldhild ecclesiam Dei persecuta est. Sicut olim pessima regina Jezabel, quæ prophetas Dei occidit, ita ista, exceptis sacerdotibus et diaconibus, novem episcopos occidere jussit." See Raine's note, Hist. of York, i. p. 91. The suggestion of a confusion with Brunechild is obvious, and it is possible that Eddius, writing long after, confused what Wilfrith told him about Balthild with what he had read about Brunechild. (Not that I believe it would be true of Brunechild either.) We must not forget that the contemporary Thietmar wrote the story of Ælfheah under the name of Dunstan. See Norman Conquest, i. 677.

still lived. The Church of Lyons reverenced a martyred bishop Annemundus, who is said to have been brother of the local count Dalfinus. It has been ingeniously conjectured that the names of the two brothers have been transposed, and that Annemundus the bishop offered Wilfrith the daughter of Dalfinus the count[1]. Of the circumstances of the death of Annemundus nothing seems to survive in the meagre chronicles of the time; we may safely acquit the Queen of any share in it; but a foreigner might easily fancy that it must have been done by her authority. And the biographer of Wilfrith casually lets fall one word which may perhaps give us a clue to the real culprit, one who certainly had no scruple as to shedding episcopal blood. The immediate agents in the martyrdom of the Archbishop of Lyons were certain dukes[2]. It is not hard to see one of them in the successor of Erkenwald. On his death we are told that the Franks, after much debating and changing to and fro, bestowed the vacant dignity on Ebroin[3].

The violent death of a bishop is sure to be looked on as martyrdom by some party; and in those days it was hard to punish any powerful man, however guilty, without some departure from the exact rules of any written law, Roman or Teutonic. Of the grounds for the execution of Annemundus we can say nothing; but an execution which any confusion could connect with the name of Balthild must, if it happened at all, have happened while Balthild still reigned. She held and kept the land in queenly authority for eight years, kept them in peace, we are told, by the counsel of various wise men, among whom we hear specially of Chrodoberht Bishop of Paris, of the famous Saint Ouen of Rouen, and of Ebroin Mayor of the Palace[4]. But this

[1] See Raine's note, p. 13.

[2] Eddius, c. vi; "Ex quibus [Balthild's victims] unus est iste Dalfinus episcopus, quem duces malignissime ad se venire jusserunt."

[3] Fred. Cont. 92; "Franci in incerto vacillantes, accepto consilio, Ebroinum in hujus honoris curam ac dignitatem statuunt." So in Gest. Franc. 45, with some change of words.

[4] Vit. S. Bath., Duchêsne, i. 666; "Suffragantibus præcellentissimis

outwardly happy union of the whole Frankish dominions lasted for only half the time of the reign of Balthild. After four years it was found that the truest union may be sometimes found in separation. The Frankish monarchy was again divided—peacefully, we are assured. The Eastern realm had again its own king, its own queen, its own mayor, distinct from the king, queen, and mayor of Neustria. The king was Childeric, a younger brother of Chlotachar. As their mother Balthild was to stay with her eldest son in Neustria, the care of the new king and his kingdom was given to Chimnehild the widow of his uncle Sigeberht; no one as yet thought of sending for her own son Dagoberht from his Irish monastery. The Mayor of Austria was Wulfwald. The arrangement, if not devised, was at least approved, by Balthild [1]; and we are emphatically told that—now that they were separated—

principibus Chrodoberto episcopo Parisiaco et domino Audoeno Rothomagensi seu Ebroino majore domus, cum reliquis senioribus vel ceteris quamplurimis regni honorem quærentibus, ad regimen Francorum in pace constituitur."

[1] The most emphatic account is that in the Life of Balthild (p. 666); "Austrasii quoque pacifico ordine, faciente domina Bathilda, per consilium quidem seniorum, receperunt filium ejus Childericum regem in Austrasiam, factique sunt Burgundiones et Franci ex illo tempore uniti." "Franci" here clearly means Neustrians; they and the Burgundians form one kingdom as against the men of the East.

The Gesta (45) and the Continuator of Fredegar (93) put off this division till the death of Chlotachar six years later; but this, we shall see, is against the whole course of the story. But it is from them that we get the name of the Mayor Wulfwald, of whom we shall hear again, and whom the genealogist of the Karlings (Pertz, ii. 311) makes into a king.

The Queen appears in several charters as exercising a joint rule with her nephew; but her name is given with singular variations. A charter of 661 (Pardessus, ii. 118) begins "Childericus rex Francorum et Chinechildis regina," and they alone sign. In the next document the Queen is absent. In p. 121, "Hildericus rex" acts "per consilium Emhildæ reginæ." She is "Hymnechildis" in the Life of Saint Amandus (Duchèsne, i. 647). In the Life of Saint Præjectus (ib. 673) she is "Hymnichilda," where alone she does anything.

the Frankish kingdoms, hitherto at variance with one another, lived—till the next time of union, we may add—in unbroken peace[1].

The division now made lasted only for a short time; but it became the model for others. We shall presently see that Neustria and Burgundy did not perfectly agree; but it is clearly held that an union between them is at least more natural than an union between either of them and Austria. Two hundred years later we should accept the division as one dictated by an obvious difference of language; we should say that the Romance and the Teutonic lands were parted asunder. One is tempted to think that this distinction existed already, that the Franks of Neustria were by this time more familiar with some form of Latin speech than with the tongue of their forefathers which still lived on Eastern lips. But another question thrusts itself in, all the more strongly because none of the meagre writers of the time give us the slightest help. What had become of Aquitaine during the reign of Chlodowig? What came of the attempt which was made at his accession (633) again to give to the Eastern king the outlying possessions which so many Eastern kings had held? Did Aquitaine at this time obey, or profess to obey, any Frankish king at all? To all these questions history gives us no answer, even legend gives us no answer, for the romance about Bertrand and Boggis is not legend but deliberate fiction. For eighty-six years (633–719), for fifty-nine years from the time that we have now reached, we know absolutely nothing of one of the great divisions of Gaul. It then appears as a powerful and united state, under a prince of its own, practically, perhaps formally, independent. Of the progress of this change we can say nothing; but, whatever were its details, it must

[1] Vit. S. Bath., p. 666; "Et credimus quia Deo gubernante, juxta dominæ Bathildis magnam fidem accidit, ut ipsa tria regna, quæ antea dissidebant discordia, tunc inter se tenerent pacis concordiam."

have been busily at work during all these years. The general causes are plain enough; the rival kings and mayors had enough to do in the more strictly Frankish lands without striving to keep a hold on Aquitaine, if Aquitaine was anxious to escape from their hold. What does strike us is that, at this time at least, there seems no sign or thought of union between Aquitaine and even southern Burgundy. That Aquitaine, still essentially a Roman land, should strive to throw off the dominion of the Teutonic kings of Austria was only the course of nature. And between Neustria and Aquitaine there was doubtless, as all later history shows, already a wide difference in language and everything else. Between Neustria and Aquitaine there was little in common except the Roman element. A Celtic land which had received a large Frankish infusion must have been in a very different case from a land largely Iberian which had received a slight Gothic infusion. But between Aquitaine and Burgundy there seems no such barrier. The Burgundian, as the name of the land shows, must have left more traces of himself east of Rhone and Saone than the Goth had left of himself south of Loire. And while Provence was doubtless even more Roman than Aquitaine, the northern part of Burgundy must have been less so. Still, on the whole, Burgundy and Aquitaine had much more in common with one another than either had with Neustria. An union of the two at this time might have given Europe another abiding nation. The Romance people of Southern Gaul had in them all the elements of a nation, no less than those of Italy, Spain, and Neustrian Gaul. But history had parted them asunder. From the first Frankish conquest of Burgundy, that land had always kept a certain separate being. It had often had a king of its own. Aquitaine meanwhile had been parted out between this king and that; large parts of it had even been held as an outlying possession of the kings of Austria. It had never, in any shape, formed a whole with Aquitaine. And now that the Frankish

princes seem ready to let Aquitaine slip away from them without an effort, they are in no way disposed to do the like by Burgundy. That land must be kept at any hazard as part of the Frankish dominion, though it is allowed to be joined to the Western *Francia* rather than to the Eastern. Somewhat later we shall see signs of a disposition on the part of at least the southern part of Burgundy to throw off Frankish rule, and to share the lot of Aquitaine. But as yet nothing points that way. The three Frankish kingdoms are in harmony with one another, and Neustria and Burgundy have a common king, a common queen-mother, a common mayor to guide and protect both. Of Aquitaine, its rulers or its people, we hear never a word.

[A gap comes here: the intermediate part was never written. It was to have gone on with the history of the mayors of the palace and their rule down to the time when Charles Martel took the office, closing with the battle near Tours, 732, and the events that followed.]

[The following Summary will perhaps help to keep the main line of events before the reader and explain allusions and references.

Ebroin the Neustrian ruled from 660 to 670, and was then overthrown and sent to a monastery by his foes, the East Frank Mayor, Wulfwald, and Bishop Leodegar the Neustrian. But in 678 Ebroin won back his Mayoralty and had Leodegar put to death, defeated Pippin the younger near Laon, and made good his rule over East Franks, West Franks, and Burgundians alike. But he was assassinated in 681.

The younger Pippin, son of Ansgisl, son of Bishop Arnulf, now came forward, and after a final battle near St. Quentin 687, he took Ebroin's place and ruled East-Franks, West-Franks, and Burgundians as Mayor, till 714. In his days there was peace among the Franks, and they made war upon their neighbours. The Frisians under Duke Radbod, the Alamans under Duke Godofred, were made to bow to the Merwing king. The Bavarians were largely converted to the New Faith 696. Irish and English missionaries laboured among the Thuringians, Frisians, Hessians (Hetwaras). Pippin's eldest sons (Grimwald and Drogo) died before him, but he hoped Grimwald's son, Theudwald, would succeed him.

But Theudwald was too young when his grandfather Pippin died, and his bastard uncle, Charles, began a struggle with Pippin's widow, Plectrudis, and Raginfred, the West-Frank Mayor, for his father's place and his father's power. After a victory in the Ardennes in 716, and another near Cambray, 717, over Raginfred and his master, Chilperich, and the successful battle of Soissons 718, Charles lost his master Chlotachar, and he put Chilperich in his place and ruled as his Mayor over East- and West-Franks and Burgundians alike. Eudo of Aquitania was forced to bow to the Merwing king and carry out his Mayor's wishes.

And now a fresh danger threatened Francia, the Saracens had overthrown the West Gothic kingdom of Spain, and were advancing upon Gaul. Eudo defeated them heavily at Toulouse, but they had taken and still held Narbonne. The Frisians and Saxons (heathens both) meanwhile occupied Charles. He compelled the obedience of the Swabians and Bavarians, and English missionaries again worked among the unconverted Teutons.

But Eudo rebelled and caballed with the Moslim and fought as their ally against Charles in 631. Next year, however, Abd-al-Rahman drove Eudo to seek Charles's help, and advanced the Moslim banner to Poitiers. Charles brought all the might of Francia against him, won a great battle and delivered Eudo's earldom and cleared part of South Gaul from the invaders.

The Frisians who cast off or refused the New Faith were then visited and chastised by the great Mayor, and their idols broken.]

II.

CHARLES AND PIPPIN AND THE CHANGE OF DYNASTY.

737–753.

It is often hard, in fixing the divisions of a historical narrative, to choose between the easy halting-places suggested by the deaths of kings or other rulers, and the breaks suggested by marked points in the course of events. Sometimes a change of sovereign is but a formal change; sometimes there is no point in the course of events so strongly marked as the beginning and ending of the day of power of one of those men who shape the course of events. Assuredly Charles Martel was one of those men by whose personal character and personal will the course of events is largely shaped. And there is a wide difference indeed between his line of policy and the line of policy of those who came after him. Yet the events which marked the reign of his son undoubtedly began in his day. Two great changes in the state of the Frankish realm marked the reign of Pippin. The Merwing was set aside and the Karling sat upon his throne. The king then newly made, in another character yet more novel than his Frankish kingship, presently won a commanding place in the affairs of Italy. The change within and the change without the kingdom were both as strongly opposed as anything could be to the character and the policy of Charles Martel. Yet both had their beginnings in his day. Charles Martel cared not to become a king. Yet the thought that he or his descendants might become kings must have been, in his later days, more strongly forced,

if not on his own mind yet on the minds of others, than it had ever been before. He distinctly refused to take any part in the affairs of Italy. Yet the fact that he was earnestly pressed to do so is the beginning of that long Frankish intervention in Italian affairs which marks the reigns of his son and grandson. The death of Charles Martel, the accession of his sons, is a marked turning-point in the story; but it is not strictly the beginning or ending of any chain of events. The two great features of the time immediately following, the change of dynasty and the intervention in Italy, have their beginnings in the last years of Charles. The feeling that we are drawing near to these two things gives his latter days a different character from the earlier part of his life in which there is no sign that either is drawing near. The two threads of narrative cross one another; for the two are going on at once, and a number of events of other kinds are going on alongside of them. The strange thing is that the first step to one of our changes is not marked by any event, but by the lack of event. No chronicler has recorded the beginning of the process—the immediate process, as distinguished from the causes which had been long working—by which the kingdoms passed from Merwings to Karlings. It is wholly by the evidence of documents that it is known. For in truth at the moment it made no practical difference to the Frankish people. But the fact that Charles Martel did not become a king at a certain moment is none the less the first step to the kingship of his son. So the fact that Charles Martel did not become a Roman consul at a certain moment was the first step to the Roman patriciate of his son, to the Roman Empire of his grandson. Only the refusal to become consul was an open act that was set down in the annals. The refusal to become king was confined to the working of Charles' own mind. Perhaps it had no place even there; the thought of kingship may not have struck him. Still it is at the moment when the thought might easily have struck

him, and when, if it did strike him, he cast it aside, that we must make our present starting-point.

§ 1. *The Kingdom without a King.* 737–751.

Charles Martel was still in the midst of his Second Saracen warfare, the longer and more toilsome warfare which has been somewhat overshadowed by the fame of one great day in the earlier strife. He had once beaten the Arabs out of Provence, but they were to come twice again. The year of their second inroad was marked, or it would be truer to say that it was not marked, by a break in the succession of the nominal heads of the Frankish kingdom. The event seemed of so little moment at the time that no chronicler thought it needful to set it down in his annals. Yet there is no doubt that in the year 737 of our reckoning the glorious King of the Franks, Theodoric Fourth of that name, passed out of the world. Nothing is known of him; not a single action, good or bad, is set down to his account. We infer from the descriptions that we have of Frankish usage that he showed himself yearly on the field of March, that he sat on his throne and spoke such words as the great Mayor of his Palace put into his mouth. We infer that he died in a certain year, because up to that year documents are dated by the years of his reign, while from that year the formula changes, and things are said to be done in such a year after the death of King Theodoric[1]. But

[1] There are a number of documents in the collection of Pardessus with this formula. See No. 57, vol. ii. p. 459, 61, 62, 63, 64. In 59 the date is "in anno primo post transitum [Theodorici] Carole majore donno [*sic*]." There must be some strange corruption in the text of 58, which is dated "anno regnati domino nostro Thedericus regis et Carolo patricio majorem domus palatio Regis." One does not expect much attention to grammar in these documents, but on any construing Theodoric and Charles are here brought together in a strange fashion.

this last formula proves something more than the mere fact of Theodoric's death; it proves also that he had no successor in his kingly title. No immediate successor that is. For we have still to come to one more mention of the house of the Merwings in narrative history, namely in the great act of fourteen years later when the Merowingian house finally ceased to reign even in name. The king who was then set aside was a Childeric and not a Theodoric. But so little it mattered who was king that a chronicler might have written one name for the other without greatly misleading his readers, or Theodoric might have died and Childeric reigned in his stead without any chronicler taking the trouble to record the change. But from narrative history only, such as we have at this time, no one could have been led to think that Theodoric died and that no other king immediately succeeded him, but that for several years the kingdom of the Franks went on without any king at all. This is what the documents teach us, a fact which seems to have struck no one at the time, but which strikes us all the more because it did strike no one at the time. This we may fairly say, but we shall presently find signs that, if the lack of a king did not strike men at the time, it did strike them a little later. We shall perhaps be justified in saying that the fact that Theodoric died and had no immediate successor made no difference whatever to Charles Martel, but that the fact that he had no immediate successor did make a difference to Charles's sons.

To Charles personally and to the kingdom which he ruled the death of Theodoric seems truly to have made no difference. Charles went on ruling as before; men went on speaking of him by titles like duke or prince which in some way set forth his position; but he still calls himself by no other style than that of the once domestic office out of which his house had risen to all the power of kings. He is still Mayor of the Palace, and no more[1]. But there

[1] His own style is "inluster vir Carolus major domus." See for

never was a title which more completely expressed a subordinate place, a place conferred by another, the place of one responsible to another, than the one title of the ruler of the Franks. The Mayor of the Palace is on the face of it a servant who has a master; he is Mayor of somebody else's palace, not of his own. When Theodoric was dead, the question could not fail to arise, if only as a matter for a smile, of whose palace it was that the Hammer of Christendom was Mayor? And on the great days of assembly, some change must have taken place in the accustomed ritual, some change must have taken place in the management of the houses which had no longer a kingly master. It is an exaggeration of a writer a generation later or a wrong inference from his words, to hold that the latest Merwings always dwelled in a single royal *villa*, save when they were brought forth once a year to the general

instance Pardessus, ii. 334. The "inluster vir" of the mayor is distinguished from the "vir inluster" of the king ("Theodoricus rex Francorum vir inluster" in the opposite page—the arrangement is genuine, though the matter of the document seems to be spurious) by being put before the name instead of after it. It reminds one of the difference between "Cicero Imperator" and "Imperator Cæsar," though there the rule is opposite. Other people made more of him than he did of himself, as we see by the very important will of Abbo in p. 370, dated "anno vigesimo primo gubernante inlustrissimo nostro Karolo regna Francorum."

Of the titles given to Charles Martel by others, "dux" and "princeps" are so common and so natural that there is no need to collect examples of them. Some others are worth notice. Of the use and force of "patricius" I may have to speak again. It is applied to Charles in a letter of Gregory the Second to Boniface in 724 (Jaffi, Mon. Mog. 86); "Carolo excellentissimo filio nostro patricio." Gregory the Third, in both his letters (Jaffi, Mon. Car. 14, 15), addresses him as "subregulus," the title that Florence gives to Harold. Even in Frankland we have seen him described as "patricius" in a document above quoted (p. 23). These descriptions are natural enough; it was a grander flight when the historian of St. Wandrille (Gest. Abb. Font. 3, Pertz, ii. 277) speaks of "Carolus, sagacissimus exarchus," and presently (9) dates by "exarchatus Caroli annus septimus decimus." But this is the grand style. A little way on, Ragenfrith is called "intarka"—the Greek αὐτάρκης.

gaze of the Frankish nation[1]. Like other kings, they moved about from place to place; they did not, as we are told in the lively picture drawn by an East-Roman hand, always abide at home, though the foreign annalist may be right in implying that, wherever they were, their only business was to eat and drink and do nothing[2]. On the day of the March-field, when all the great men of the Franks and the whole host of the Franks came together in warlike guise, ready to do battle wherever battle needed to be done, the royal wain drawn by its oxen appeared on the field. The king, with his long hair marking his dignity[3], with his beard, if he lived to an age to have one, hanging down no less unshorn, was set on his throne to receive the gifts of his people, to listen to the envoys of foreign powers, to make such answers as the Mayor of his Palace bade him, to consent to and to proclaim in some solemn fashion the decrees on which the Mayor and all the people of the Franks agreed without consulting him[4].

[1] This seems to be the usual inference from the well-known description in Einhard, Vita Kar. 1. But his words do not really imply constant abiding at one place; "Quocumque eundum erat, carpento ibat, quod bubus junctis, et bubulco rustico more agente, trahebatur; sic ad palatium, sic ad publicum populi sui conventum . . . ire, sic domum redire solebat." These words imply occasional visits to other places, and we find even the last Theodoric signing charters in various places. See Bonnell, Anfänge, 126; Warnkönig and Gérard, i. 137; Richter, 207.

[2] Theoph. i. 619, ed. Bonn; *ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς* [*τοῖς Φράγγοις*] *τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν, ἤτοι τὸν ῥῆγα, κατὰ γένος ἄρχειν, καὶ μηδὲν πράττειν ἢ διοικεῖν πρὶν ἀλόγως ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, οἶκοι τε διατρίβειν.* (*Ἀλόγως* would seem to mean "like a beast," the word *ἄλογον* having hardly settled down on a particular beast.) This kind of king is contrasted with *Πίπινος πρόοικος καὶ ἔξαρχος τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ τῶν Φράγγων ἔθνους.*

[3] Theophanes, who mistakes the month for the later May, is most irreverent on the subject of the "reges criniti"; *ἐλέγοντο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐκείνου καταγόμενοι κριστάται, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται τριχοραχάται· τρίχας γὰρ εἶχον κατὰ τῆς ῥάχης ἐκφυομένας, ὡς χοῖροι.* Did he think the Merwings had some special physical formation? Erclambert (Pertz, ii. 328) has a more respectful comparison; "Merovei, ut aiunt, sicut antiquitas Nazaræi, nullo capitis crine inciso erant."

[4] Einh. Vita Kar. 1; "Legatos undecumque venientes audiret,

But when there was no longer a king, when the Mayor of the Palace was left to act for himself without even the form of consulting or commanding a nominal master, the royal houses must either have stood empty, or he whose business it was to rule them for another must have either stood empty or have been ruled by the Mayor on his own behalf. On the days of solemn assembly the change must have been more strongly marked. The wain with the oxen could have come no more, or it must have come without its kingly freight. The throne must have stood empty; the Mayor, we must suppose, now spoke to the assembly with his own mouth, as he had no longer a king into whose mouth he could put his words. Men must have marked the change; it shows how their feelings had changed during the last hundred years that they put up with it. Since the Franks had been a people, they had had kings, and those kings had been Merwings. And men cleave so to shadows that one wonders that there was not an universal cry that Charles should appoint another Merwing, or that, failing that, some daring innovator did not demand that the true King of Men should be heaved on the shield himself.

What might have happened if Charles had made such a proposal or caused it to be made we can only guess. All that we know is that there was no king, but that the Mayor of the Palace, Mayor of the Palace to nobody, went on reigning all the same. That Charles neither took the trouble to appoint a king nor felt any ambition to become king himself quite falls in with his character. Great as his career was, it was a career of singular moderation; it is in many things a contrast to that of both his son and his grandson. He was clearly one who cared more for the

eisque abeuntibus responsa quæ erat edoctus vel etiam jussus, ex sua velut potestate redderet." Am. Lauriss. Minores, 12 (Pertz, i. 116); "Dona illis regibus a populo offerebantur, et ipse rex sedebat in sella regia circumstante exercitu, et major domus coram eo, præcipiebatque die illo quidquid a Francis decretum erat."

substance than for the shadow; if he had the reality of power, he recked little for names and titles. He cared not to be a king; he cared not to be again a king-maker. And he had sterner work on hand that year than the bestowing of empty titles either on himself or on any other man.

§ 2. *The Last Saracen Wars of Charles Martel.* 737–739.

The kingdom of the Franks thus remained kingless while its real ruler went forth again to do battle with the misbeliever, this time actively supported by a party in the lands between Rhone and Alps.

[The story of these wars, by which these several invasions were successfully repelled, and the Saracen advance was checked at Narbonne, and only a part of Southern Septimania left in their hands, was never written here as intended.]

§ 3. *The Appeal of Gregory to Charles.* 739–740.

The champion of Christendom had come back from his warfare with the Infidel and with the Christians who had leagued themselves with the Infidel. The leader of the Franks, call him Mayor, Duke, Prince, any title short of that of the Merwing heaved upon the shield, had come back from a struggle in which the Frankish arms had been again carried to the shores of the great sea. If the whole realm of the first Chlotachar had not been brought back to its almost momentary unity, yet the Austrian Mayor, reigning without a king, had brought Neustria and Burgundy under his immediate power, and had driven the princes of Bavaria and Aquitaine to acknowledge that Frankish superiority of which there was no representative but himself. He had not indeed brought the whole of Gaul under even formal Frankish headship; but then no formal ruler of the Franks had ever reached to even a formal headship of all Gaul. The Saracen was still in the land,

but he dwelled only where the Goth had dwelled before him. Driven out of Provence, he still held Septimania, but even at the bounds of Septimania the blows of the Frankish hammer had been many and heavy. No Frankish prince before him had harried Nîmes and threatened Narbonne. Charles Martel was not lord of all Gaul, but he was far nearer to being lord of all Gaul than any ruler of his house had been before him. He was not lord of all Germany, but he had made the Frankish power once more the undoubted head of Germany. He might well seem to have done his work, and to have earned a good right to enjoy the sabbath of his toils. But such a sabbath, as it was seldom the wish, was seldom the lot, of a Frankish warrior. As things turned out, rest, a short rest, was to be the lot and perhaps the wish of Charles. But in his last years, the ruler of the Franks, the champion of the Faith, was called on to go forth to new toils by a voice to which in one of those two characters he must have found it hard to say Nay.

Hitherto the enterprises of Charles Martel had all been of such a kind that, if we cannot always say that they were actually forced upon him, they could hardly have been avoided unless he was to be false to the objects to which he seemed in a manner to be called. Now none of those objects were in any degree strange, new, or adventurous; they were mainly of a conservative kind; their object never was to win anything fresh, but always to keep something that was already in possession, or at most to win back something that had been lost. The one main object of his life was to assert afresh the headship of the Frankish power over all Gaul and Germany. To that end he had to establish the power of his own house within the Frankish dominion, and to that end he had to establish his own power as head of his own house. The struggle for those three ends makes up the history of his life in a reverse order. He had made himself head of the house of Pippin; he had made the house of Pippin the head of the Frankish kingdom; he had made the Frankish kingdom

again the head of all of which it had ever been the head. But in none of these cases had he won or sought anything new; he had not in all cases even sought for everything that he might have claimed as old. The Frankish kings had once been immediate rulers of Aquitaine; Charles was satisfied with asserting for them, that is practically for himself, a new overlordship over a duke whose dependence was very precarious. Still further was he from seeking new dominions for the power of which he was the head. He won many victories, one victory which holds a memorable place in the history of the world; but he was no conqueror; he drove back invasions, but he did not himself invade; even Septimania he simply entered and harried as an operation of war to weaken an enemy; he in no sort strove to annex it as a political conquest. He was not called to the destiny, perhaps he did not share the temper of Alexander and Cæsar, of his own son and grandson, Pippin and the yet more famous Charles. Least of all was he moved by that love of mere titles, badges, and symbols, which has stirred so many to action and from which even the greatest minds are seldom free. Father of a mighty King, grandfather of a mightier Emperor, we have seen that he never called himself by any title but that which marked the once lowly office which he and his predecessors had made so mighty[1]. At a time when there was no king in the land, but when assuredly every man did not therefore do what was right in his own eyes, when there was no way to date in the Frankish land but by the fifth year after the death of King Theodoric, it is still the "inluster Karolus major-domus" who grants his gifts and issues his orders[2]. Such a man, had years not been growing on him, had his bodily strength not been failing, would at least have thought twice before he undertook new toils, before he took on himself new duties, for the sake of dominion over lands over which no Frankish king or mayor had

[1] See above, p. 24.

[2] See Pardessus, ii. 380.

ever ruled, for the sake of a sounding title which no Frankish mayor had ever borne, and no Frankish king since the first founder of the kingdom.

Yet the man who had stretched forth his hand to help the ghostly warfare of Boniface against the heathendom of his own folk, the man who had lifted up his hand to crush the votaries of Islam with the weapons of a carnal warfare, must surely have felt his heart stirred at the letters and messages which came pouring on him, one fast upon another, as he came back from his Septimanian campaign. Never, the Frankish chronicler truly says, had such an embassy been seen before in the Frankish land. He was sick at Verberia on the Oise, the beginning of a sickness that was to be unto death[1], when the envoys of Pope Gregory twice came with letters for the man whom the Pope spoke of as an under-king, as under-king with no higher lord over him[2]. Never surely had such a call been sent before to any mortal man. Charles the Hammer had to listen to the pleadings of the high priest of Christendom, calling on the mightiest son of Christendom to come and save the Roman Church, the Roman city, the Roman commonwealth, from the foes who threatened to devour all. The reward offered for such help was, if not the highest place on earth, yet a place which could hardly fail to be a step to the highest. The Frankish mayor was called on to exercise lordship in the capital of the world as he had long been used to exercise it in the cities of the Frankish realm. The Bishop of Rome and all the Romans, with the Lombard thundering at their gates, with their own lord the Roman Emperor unable or unwilling to give them help, offered to withdraw their allegiance from their

[1] Cont. Fred. 109 (739); "Reversus in regiones Francorum, ægrotare cœpit in villa Verimbrea super Issara fluvio."

[2] Ib. 110; "Bis a Roma sede sancti Petri apostoli beatus papa Gregorius... legationem, quod antea nullis auditis aut visis temporibus fuit, memorato principi destinavit." So the Moissac Chronicle (Pertz, i. 292); "Quod antea nullo Francorum principi a quolibet Romanæ urbis præsule missum fuerat."

distant sovereign and to plight it to one nearer and mightier. They did not indeed offer the titles and badges of Empire to one who had recked so little of the titles and badges of kingship. But they did offer him the lofty titles which had raised Chlodowig, in the full zeal of conversion, in the full pride of victory, to a place in the eyes of men higher than that of the kings around him. Guarded by Charles the Patrician, Charles the Consul, the Roman Church, the Roman city, might as easily dispense with the lordship of an Emperor, as, when guarded by Charles the Mayor, the kingdom of the Franks had learned to dispense with the lordship of a king.

But fully to take in the depth and significance of the prayer which Gregory the Third thus sent to Charles Martel, we must take a glance at the state of things in the Italian lands which made such a prayer needful and possible. For a long time past the history of the Frankish power has had to do with the affairs of Italy only now and then, when any special occasion led either to warlike or peaceful intercourse. That close connexion between the Austrian kings and the Empire which marks a few years towards the end of the sixth century has become as much a thing of the remote past as the Frankish warfare against the Empire in the days of Belisarius and Narses. At the present moment the Frankish and Lombard kingdoms are united by the nearest ties of friendship; Liudprand is the faithful ally of Charles in the war with the Saracens; Pippin, son of Charles, is the adopted son of Liudprand. The Franks, allies of the Lombards, are neither allies nor enemies of the other powers. For the time is come that we must speak of other powers in Italy. The lands which the warfare of Belisarius and Narses had won back for the Empire had been, for nearly two hundred years, attacked and gradually dismembered by the Lombard invaders. The relation of the new conquerors to the Empire was wholly different from that of the Goths or even of the Franks. In the case of the Lombards no decent forms veiled the

unpleasant facts of invasion and conquest. No Lombard king was sent, like Wallia and Theodoric, to win for himself a kingdom under cover of winning back the lost lands of the Empire from earlier invaders. No Lombard king was *magister militum*, like Alaric, or Roman consul like Chlodowig. If some Lombard princes called themselves by the Imperial name of Flavius, it was surely rather the defiance of a rival than the homage of a vassal or an ally. All that the Lombard tore away from the Empire, he tore away utterly and, as far as he was concerned, for ever. And a large part of Italy he did tear away, and he tore it away in such a sort as to make the most irregular of frontiers. Or rather one hardly talks of frontiers. In the lands which lay between the Lombard kingdom in northern Italy and the Lombard duchies which owed it a precarious vassalage in the centre and south, the Empire still kept a large territory; but it kept it only in the shape of isolated patches. The special Romania of Italy, the land on the Hadriatic south of the Po, still by its very name asserted its abiding Roman character. There, in the stronghold of Ravenna, first the seat of Emperors and then of Gothic kings, still sat the ruler who represented the majesty of Augustus in his Western possessions. The line of the Exarchs of Italy began with the eunuch who had smitten alike Goth and Frank, and the successor of Narses still ruled when the Frank was prayed to come to the help of Rome against the Lombards. South of the special Exarchate, the special Romania, were the five cities, the Pentapolis, with Ancona as their head—Ancona, latest colony of Old Greece in Italy, and destined, in days yet far distant, to be the last Italian city to be garrisoned by the soldiers of the Greek-speaking Rome by the Bosporos. Parted from these Roman lands by the Lombard duchy of Spoleto, was the immediate territory of the elder Rome, now known as the Roman duchy, with a long coast, Etruscan and Latin, on both sides of the Tiber, stretching as far as the Minturnus where Gaius Marius sought for shelter. The great Lombard

duchy of Benevento cast off Rome and its territory from the Imperial possessions in the South, the lands around Naples and Amalfi, and the toe and the heel of the boot, the older and the newer Calabria from which the tongue of Hellas had not yet passed away. Beyond the strait which the newer Calabria guarded lay the central island of Europe, the Greek land of Sicily, where the rule of Cæsar had not yet been disputed for a moment. And far to the north of the long Hadrian gulf, among the Venetian islands and in the Istrian peninsula, men still clave to the memories of Roman rule as their defence alike against the Lombard and the Slave. The Imperial dominion was a scattered dominion, with a boundary ever fluctuating, as the Lombard often pressed on his conquests, as the Roman sometimes won back what he had lost. It had but little of national unity, little unity even of speech; the one tie that kept the scattered fragments together was the proud thought that, while the lands around them had fallen under the yoke of the barbarian, they were still subjects of the Roman Empire, or, as they better loved to say, members of the Roman commonwealth [1]. The real distinction between the people of Northern and Southern Italy, and the abiding tie which held them together, are well set forth in the ordinary language of the Lombard historian. To him the power which divided Italy with the realm of his own people is everywhere, as a power, the one Roman Empire which it had never ceased to be. But the men who lived under its

[1] A better instance of the use of the word "respublica" to express the Roman dominion cannot be found than when the Spanish writer John of Biclar (Roncall. ii. 391) speaks of the revolt of Eormengild against his father and his flight to the Imperial province in southern Spain as "Hermenigildo ad rempublicam commigrante." In Paul the Deacon (iv. 36) we read how Heraklios "rempublicam Romanam regendam suscepit," and in the charter of Constans the Second to Bishop Maurus of Ravenna (Scriptt. Rer. Langob. 351) the bishop is bidden "pro dilatanda credita nobis ab ejus [omnipotentis domini] magistratu Romana republica." But the use of "respublica" which concerns us most will come a little later.

dominion are distinguished according to their speech. In northern and central Italy there is but one name for men who are known alike by allegiance and by language. In the south allegiance and language have parted asunder; Roman and Greek have become words of the same meaning, and the men of the Greater Hellas are spoken of as Greeks alongside of the speakers of Latin and of German[1].

In such a dominion as this, united only by a present authority and an ancient memory, there was a natural tendency in the several parts, not to fall away, not to cast aside the common allegiance, but each gradually to set up for itself, and, by a gentle process, without revolt or resistance, to cut down the central authority to the smallest amount of practical power. The Exarchate and the Pentapolis were held as firmly by the Imperial power as those themes of Europe and Asia which were watered by the Bosporos. They might yield to foreign invasion, as the New Rome herself did ages after; but Ravenna under the Exarchs was no more likely to set up for itself than Ravenna under the Julii. It was otherwise in the outlying possessions. It is hard to say what moment, certainly no moment till ages after the time of which we are now speaking, saw Venice cease to be an Imperial possession and her dukes cease to be Imperial officers. It is hard to say whether Amalfi and Naples, when the Norman entered them, were still to be counted members of the Empire or not. These are all questions of the future; the main question of the eighth century touched the position of the elder Rome. By sheer unavoidable force of circumstances, the Bishops of Rome were growing step by step, if not into temporal princes, yet into representatives and defenders of their flocks in the eyes both of their own sovereigns and of other princes. The simple fact that the Roman Emperor dwelled in the New Rome and not in the Old made all the unspeakable difference between a Pope of

[1] See the use of the words "Romani" and "Græci" in Paul. iv. 45, 46, v. 7, 10, 11, 16, 27, 28, 30.

Rome and a Patriarch of Constantinople. The Church and the city of Rome came hardly to be distinguished; the happy ambiguity of the name Roman Republic might easily fluctuate between the dominion of the Roman Emperor and some new and vague notion of a local commonwealth with the Roman Bishop as its chief. With this form of tendency to separation we shall soon have to deal; Venice, Naples, and Calabria hardly concern us as yet.

The feelings of the Italian subjects of the Emperors dwelling at Constantinople must have been strangely mixed. In Italy the Empire showed its worst side. It could never have been to the local Roman what it was to the men of eastern Europe and western Asia. The men of those lands saw their warrior princes go forth year after year to save all that was left of the elder world, of its culture and of its faith, from the ceaseless onslaught of the Bulgarian and the Arab. In the West the onslaughts of the Lombard were well nigh as ceaseless; but Rome and Italy were never guarded against them by an Imperial champion. The one Emperor whom Rome beheld between Augustulus and the great Charles was that Constans who came only for twelve days of plunder. But, if the Emperor did little to protect his Italian subjects, he never forgot to do that which men seldom endure save when they receive protection as its prize. If the lord of Rome forgot all his other powers and duties, there was one which he never forgot; wherever the Imperial eagles still spread their wings, there still went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. In short the rule of Constantinople in Italy was in no sort a rule to be loved; it was only the thought of the only alternative which was open to those who were under it which saved it from being actively hated. Whatever it was, it was better, at least men thought it better, than falling under the yoke of the barbarian. To the Roman of Italy the Lombard was still the barbarian in all the fulness of the name; he was the barbarian in a sense in which the Goth and even the

Frank never were. To us who see in the Roman power the embodiment of despotism, who see in the growing Teutonic states the germs and cradles of freedom, few sayings seem stranger than the words in which the first Gregory bids Phokas to remember that, while the kings of the nations reign over slaves, the Emperor of the Republic reigns over freemen[1]. Yet to the Roman of Italy, who contrasted the rule of the Empire with the rule of the Lombards, those words were full of meaning. The rule of Rome was still in his eyes the rule of law; as the rule of law, it seemed the opposite to the rule of force, the so-called law under which each man helped himself to his right by the strong arm. Such a contrast was daily losing its truth; we may be sure that kings like Rotharris and Liudprand did at least as good justice as an exarch; but it took many ages to drive out of men's minds the belief that law and peace and freedom could be nowhere had save under the rule of Rome. The name of Rome and her Emperor had not lost its magic power; it still seemed a fall, a degradation, a bondage, to pass from the rule of Cæsar to that of any meaner lord. And above all, Cæsar was the champion of the faith, the true faith of Roman orthodoxy, attacked by the heretic on one side and by the misbeliever on the other. The Lombards had indeed now been Catholic for some generations; but the stain of their old heresy, the aggravation of their barbarism, seems never to have been washed out. Small as was the claim of the Emperors of the eighth century on the allegiance or the gratitude of their Italian subjects, those subjects might have remained loyal as long as there was an Emperor to be loyal to, if only the Emperors had forborne to wound their dearest religious feelings in a way in which no mere difference in dogmatic belief could ever have wounded them.

The great Iconoclast controversy belongs directly to the

[1] This is in the wonderful letter of congratulation from Gregory the Great to Phokas.

history of the East; in the West its results were mighty, but they were mighty chiefly as bringing new powers into play. At the moment when the Empire was finally split asunder, when its Western half passed to the Frank, the religious feelings of the Old Rome were in truth more in harmony with Constantinople than with Aachen; yet it was because the lords of Constantinople had sinned against the religious feelings of the Old Rome that the Empire of the West ever passed to a lord of Aachen. We may speculate whether the great Isaurian Emperors really cared for the loss of Latin Italy; we may speculate whether the loss was not really a gain, whether the Roman Empire, with its Greek-speaking majority, did not really put on fresh strength when it ceased to be geographically Rome; one thing is certain, that it was their religious innovations or reforms which split the Empire asunder, and, in the language of those ages, transferred the Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Franks. The process was a long one; the connexion was indirect; the Franks came into Italy to protect Rome, not against the heretical Emperors but against the Catholic Lombards; but the Franks came none the less because the Emperor had sinned against the religious feelings of the local Rome. The rule of the New Rome over the Old was indeed a thing so purely artificial, it was maintained so thoroughly by mere memory and sentiment, that it was sure to give way to the first vigorous thrust. That thrust might, and most likely would, have come from some other quarter; as a matter of fact it did come from the Emperors themselves when they called on the Roman clergy and people to cast aside their beloved images. The deep wrath which that order called forth showed itself in a way which marks the feelings with which men still looked on the one undivided Empire of Rome. That Empire, Roman on one side, Greek on another, had trampled on the dearest feelings alike of the local Greece and of the local Rome. Greece and Rome were alike fanatically orthodox. Both in old Hellas and

in Old Rome paganism had lingered longer than it had done at Ravenna or Milan, while Constantinople was Christian from its birth. But neither in old Hellas nor in Old Rome was heresy ever at home; when paganism passed away, the strictest orthodoxy took its place. When an Emperor, one who had saved the Empire and the faith, fell away from the right path, Greece and Rome alike felt called on to revolt from the Emperor, they felt no call to separate from the Empire. The first impulse in each land was, according to a thousand precedents, to choose an Emperor for themselves and to sail with him to the Imperial city to displace a prince who was no longer an Emperor but a tyrant. The men of Hellas—no longer pagan Hellênes, but orthodox Helladians—set forth by sea in the vain hope of setting Kosmas on the throne of Leo[1], as the legions of Gaul had once set forth by land on the more promising errand of setting Julian on the throne of Constantius. So too in the Old Rome the cry was, not to call in the Lombard, not as yet to call in the Frank, not to proclaim the Rome on the Tiber independent of the Rome on the Bosporos, but to choose an Emperor for themselves and to take him to Constantinople to displace the heretical Isaurian[2]. Pope Gregory the Second takes no small credit to himself that he hindered the rebellious designs of his flock, and persuaded them to abide in their allegiance to a prince of whose conversion he still had hopes[3].

[1] Theophanes, i. 623, ed. Bonn; *ἐν τούτοις οὖν θείῳ κινούμενοι ζήλῳ στασιάζουσι κατ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλῃ ναυμαχίᾳ συμφωνήσαντες Ἑλλαδικοί τε καὶ οἱ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων Κοσμᾶν τινα συνεπόμενον ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ στεφθῆναι.* Mark the name *Ἑλλαδικοί* for the inhabitants of the local Hellas. Such orthodox people as these revolters would have shrunk with horror from the pagan name of *Ἕλληνες*. I do not see with Finlay that the name of *Ἑλλαδικοί* implies any contempt.

[2] Vita Greg. ii. (Mur. iii. P. i. p. 156); "Cognita imperatoris nequitia omnis Italia concilium iniit ut sibi elegerent imperatorem et Constantinopolim ducerent."

[3] Vit. Greg. p. 156; "Compescuit tale concilium pontifex, sperans conversionem principis."

The complication of Italian affairs at this moment had reached an extreme point. Three great and memorable men ruled severally the Roman Empire and the kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards. Leo the Emperor (717), Liudprand the King (712), Charles the Mayor (714–19), had all risen to power within a few years of each other[1]. Liudprand, abhorred by Papal writers as an ungodly tyrant, appears in the history of his own people as the model of a prince, above all things as specially devout, and strict in his private life[2]. No Lombard king did more to enlarge the territory and increase the power of the Lombard kingdom. He brought the outlying Lombard duchies of Spoleto (742) and Benevento into a nearer relation to the Lombard crown, and placed over them dukes of his own making[3]. This change belongs to the later days of his reign, and its importance with regard to the Frankish and Roman story will be seen further on. But his wars with the Romans are those on which the historian of his people specially insists[4], and he knew well how to take advantage of the dissensions between the Emperor and his Italian subjects.

At this point the Pope made up his mind to seek for foreign help. His position was a strange one. He might be said to be at war alike with his own sovereign and with the prince who was striving to enlarge his dominions at the expense of that sovereign. At the moment the orthodox King at Pavia was more dangerous than the heretical Emperor at Constantinople; but both alike stood in the way of his schemes, and he sought for a helper against

[1] Paul, without putting the thought into words, seems to feel the meeting of great men, when he brings the three near together in his sixth book, cap. 41, 42, 43.

[2] See his character at the very end of Paul's history, and his epitaph.

[3] Paul, vi. 55–58.

[4] Ib. 54; "Multa idem regnator contra Romanos bella gessit, in quibus semper victor extitit." One exception is admitted, when he was not personally in command.

both alike. The exact objects of Gregory are nowhere clearly set forth, and, in the shifting circumstances of the time, his objects and those of the Popes before and after him may well have shifted greatly from time to time. But we may be sure that they wished, in one shape or another, to get rid of the Emperor without falling into the jaws of the King, to establish their own practical independence of both, whether under the name of the Roman Church or of the Roman Republic or of the Apostle Peter himself, the heavenly patron of both. A foreign prince, near enough to act as a check on both enemies, but not near enough to exercise any practical sovereignty in internal matters, would be desirable as a protector against Leo and Liudprand, and his help might be won by the offer alike of spiritual blessings and of earthly dominion and dignity. The man marked out for such a calling was the Prince of the Franks, the mightiest ruler of the West, the man who had beaten back the misbelievers of Spain and had lent a helping hand towards the conversion of the heathen in Germany. The conqueror of Abd-al-Rahman, the friend of Boniface, seemed, in the eyes of Gregory, marked before all men to stand forth as the nursing-father of the Roman Church in its hour of danger.

It is strange that in the Roman Life of Gregory there is no mention whatever of the embassies and letters which passed between Gregory and Charles. Perhaps it was not thought becoming to enlarge on an application made by a Pope which came to nothing, especially when it was made to one to whose successors more lucky applications were made by the successors of Gregory. But two letters of Gregory to Charles have been preserved, and we have from the Frankish side a narrative of the embassies, though less clear and full than we could wish for. At least two embassies were sent and three letters written[1]. So unusual

[1] The Continuator of Fredegar (see above, p. 29) mentions the two embassies, though he does not clearly distinguish them. In the Codex Carolinus (Jaffé, iv. 14, 15) we have two letters, in the former

an event as an embassy from the Roman pontiff to a Frankish ruler made no slight impression[1]. As far as we can make out, a letter which is now lost was first sent; then followed another, of which we have the text, and which was most likely brought by the first set of envoys described by the Frankish writers. The letter (739), addressed by Gregory the Pope to his most excellent son Charles the Under-king[2], is short and vague, and contains no very distinct statement of facts. The Pope complains of the intolerable persecution and oppression which he and the church of Saint Peter are suffering at the hands of the Lombards. But he gives no details, except that his first appeal had brought on him yet more scorn and oppression from the enemy[3], and that—the language is not very clear—the Lombards had taken away all the gifts that Charles and his kinsfolk had ever given to Saint Peter[4]. The Lombard king is not mentioned by name; there is not a word about the Emperor or the Empire; on the other hand we do not hear the name, so important a little later, of the Roman Republic. The Under-king is simply prayed by every pious motive to come to the help of Saint Peter and the Pope and the special people of Saint Peter[5].

of which there is a reference to an earlier one; "Iterata vice tuæ excellentiæ necessarium duximus scribendum." The Moissac chronicler mentions only one; "Epistolam et *decreta Romanorum principum* prædictus papa Gregorius cum legatione, etiam munera, misit."

[1] See above, p. 31.

[2] "Domino excellentissimo filio Carolo subregulo" is the heading of both letters.

[3] P. 14; "Quoniam ad te post Deum confugium fecimus, propterea nos ipsi Langobardi in obpromium habent et opprimunt."

[4] "Omnia luminaria ad ipsius principis apostolorum et quæ a vestris parentibus vel a vobis offerta sunt ipsi abstulerunt." Jaffé explains "luminaria" by "donaria, bona," an odd meaning enough, but one which is quite borne out by the references in Ducange.

[5] "Tuam fidem et puritatem atque amorem, quæ habes erga principem apostolorum beatum Petrum et nos ejusque peculiarem populum zelando et defendendo."

The letter was accompanied by a gift of precious sanctity, a special mark of honour to the Frankish prince, the keys of Saint Peter's tomb, and his chains, that is doubtless filings from them[1]. But it is not clear from the second letter whether Charles had sent any answer to the first. The mockery of the Lombards was doubtless founded on the fact that there had been at least no practical answer. But between the second and the third letter, that is, between the first and the second embassy, written communications of some kind had been busily passing between the Lombard king and the Frankish mayor[2], and a man in the confidence of the Frankish mayor, therefore most likely sent in some shape on his errand, was at Rome and was charged by the Pope with the third letter[3]. In this Gregory goes far more into detail than he did in the second. It is written while Liudprand and Hildebrand were acknowledged as joint kings[4] (740), and more are named as doing grievous damage both in the parts of Ravenna and in the parts nearer to Rome[5] (735–741). The Pope complains that Charles has given him no comfort of any kind in answer to

[1] Cont. Fred. 110; "Claves venerandi sepulcri cum vinculis venerandi sepulcri." So Chron. Moiss. That they were sent on the first embassy, appears from the allusion in the third letter (p. 17); "Conjuro te in Deum vivum et verum et ipsas sacratissimas claves confessionis beati Petri, quas vobis ad rogum direximus." See Jaffé, and Waitz, ii. 78. "Rogum," not "regnum," is the right reading. Jaffé explains it as "rogatio, obsecratio," which is one meaning; but it also (see Ducange) means a gift. Is not this the more likely meaning here, as Charles is not likely to have asked for the keys?

[2] Jaffé, p. 16; "Non credas, fili, suggestionibus et suasionibus eorumdem regum. Omnia enim falsa tibi suggerunt, scribentes circumventiones."

[3] Ib. 18; "Literarum portitor, Anthat vester fidelis."

[4] Ib. 15; "Liudprando et Hilprando regibus Langobardorum." See the account of the accession of Hildebrand in Paul, vi.

[5] Ib.; "Cernimus id quod modicum remanserat præterito anno pro subsidio et alimento pauperum Christi seu *luminariorum* concinnatione in partibus Ravennacium, nunc gladio et igni cuncta consumi." Next they do the like "in ipsis partibus Romanis, mittentes plura exercita."

his former appeal[1]. He has given the Lombard kings an opportunity of doing mischief and has listened to their false reports rather than to the truth told him by the Pope[2]. The Lombard kings go on mocking; Let Charles come, they say to the Pope, and deliver you out of our hands[3]. They have in their despatches cunningly persuaded the Frankish ruler that the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, the Pope's new allies[4], had been guilty of some real offence against the Lombard kings. That was all false; the kings were persecuting the two dukes, Thrasimund and Godescalc, for no ground except that the dukes had refused to join the kings in their wicked attacks on the Apostles and their special people[5]. Charles is earnestly prayed not to place his friendship for the Lombard kings before his love for the Prince of the Apostles[6]; he is to bid those kings to go home[7], and then is to send a faithful envoy, a man who cannot be led astray by bribes, to see and report all the mischief that the Lombards have done[8]. To make his prayer the more solemn, he appeals to the keys of the tomb of Saint Peter, which he had already sent him, the keys which made him, one is to suppose,

[1] Jaffé, p. 15; "Nulla nobis apud te . . . refugium facientibus pervenit actorum consolacio."

[2] Ib.; "Dum indultum a vobis eisdem regibus est mocione faciendi, eorum falsa suggestio plus quam nostra veritas apud vos recepta est."

[3] Ib.; "Ubi resident ipsi reges, ad exprobrationem nostram ita proferunt verba dicentes, 'Adveniat Carolus, apud quem refugium fecistis, et exercitus Francorum et, si volent, adjuvent vos et eruant de manibus nostris.'"

[4] On their relations with the Pope, see Paul, vi.

[5] The kings attacked them, p. 16, "quod noluerunt præterito anno de suis partibus super nos inruere," &c.

[6] Ib. 17; "Ut non proponas amicitiam regum Longobardorum amori principis apostolorum." It is plain that his alliance with Liudprand was a very strong motive with Charles.

[7] Ib.; "Eosdem reges sub nimia celeritate refutes et a nobis repellas, et jubeas eos ad propria reverti."

[8] Ib.; "Jubeas post ipsorum regum ad propria reversionem tuum fidelissimum missum, qui non a præmiis corrumpatur, dirigere."

the special guardian and defender of the rights of the Apostle[1]. The letter is sent by the hands of Anthat, a "fidelis" of Charles, who will tell him more by word of mouth[2].

The coming of Anthat, of course accompanied by Roman comrades, is doubtless the second embassy of the Frankish account. Unless Frankish imagination has been most strangely inventive, they were charged with a mission of the highest moment of which not a trace is to be found in the letter. Perhaps it was thought too deep a matter to be trusted to any agency but that of the living voice. In the third letter there was no more mention than in the first of the Emperor or the Empire; there is no mention of the Roman Republic, whether as the same thing as the Empire or as something distinct from it. But in the Frankish account Gregory ventured on a step from which the Popes before him had shrunk and from which the Popes after him shrunk no less. He proposed to throw off his allegiance to the Emperor and to bestow on Charles the Roman consulship[3]. Our thoughts naturally go back once more to the consulship bestowed by the Emperor Anastasius on the founder of the Frankish dominion. But Charles was asked to become consul in a sense exactly opposite to that in which the title had been borne by Chlodowig. The consulship was given to Chlodowig as an officer of the Empire to bind him more fully to the cause of the Empire. The consulship was offered to Charles as a bait to lead him to join in a scheme for upsetting the Empire altogether. In the days of Chlodowig too the succession of the ancient consuls was still unbroken. The Frankish king became bearer of the very office which had been held by Brutus and Valerius. Before the days of Charles the ancient consulship had passed away; a new power was to be called into being under an old name; he was asked to be, if not exactly a forerunner of the consul

[1] See above, p. 43.

[2] Codex Car. Jaffé, iv. p. 18.

[3] See Appendix, Note 1.

Crescentius and the tribune Rienzi, yet something nearer to such a character than to that of the prætors of the first days of the commonwealth. The whole thing is vague and dark; it might have been clearer if we had the Roman account, still more so if Gregory had chosen to enter on the subject in his letter. As it is, we can only suppose that this mysterious consulship now offered to Charles was much the same as the patriciate afterwards accepted by his son, only with one very important difference. The patriciate of Pippin, as we shall presently see, in no way involved any denial of the Emperor's authority, and was most likely bestowed by the Emperor's authority. But consulship and patriciate alike were meant to convey a call to defend the Roman Church and people, and they would doubtless be understood as conveying also some vague authority in the Roman city and duchy. Only Pippin was to be, in some vague and shadowy way, an officer of an Emperor whose authority might be cut down to the lowest point, but was not to be formally disowned. Charles was to be at Rome very much what he was at home. He was not a king, he was not asked to become an Emperor; as he was used to rule a kingdom where there was no king, he was asked in some sort to rule, if not an Empire where there was no Emperor, yet a part of an Empire which thought it could do without its Emperor. And we may suspect that he was asked to rule it because it was hoped that he would not rule it. One might at first be tempted to ask, why the orthodox King of the Lombards was not welcomed as a deliverer from the heretical Emperor, and why the not more orthodox Prince of the Franks was called in against him. Doubtless because, if the Lombard King had got possession of Rome, he would have been a real master of Rome. He might have made the city his royal seat; he might have ruled it from Pavia or Ravenna; in any case he would have really ruled it. But a consul coming out of Gaul or Germany to help Saint Peter to his rights might likely enough do what his son actually did;

he might wage a campaign of deliverance and then go home again. Charles might be Mayor where there was no King, consul where there was no Emperor. Gregory doubtless hoped that he would himself be, in Saint Peter's name, something that he was not as yet, in a city and duchy where, if there was neither King nor Emperor, neither was there practically any consul.

We shall look more fully into these matters when we come to the patriciate of Pippin, of which, if we do not know so much as we should like, we at least know more than we know about this consulship of Charles. It is only from the office which was accepted by the son that we can gain any notion as to the office which was declined by the father. For declined it was; Charles did not become Roman consul; he did not go to the help of the Pope. There is something a little mysterious in the position of the Frankish writers on this head. They set forth, with some pomp of words, the worship with which the papal envoys were received; they tell of the gifts which the Prince of the Franks sent in return for the gifts of the Pope; they give us the names of the Frankish envoys, both churchmen, who were sent with them to the threshold of the apostles. But what message they took with them we are not told; they did, according to one account, take back some answer, and that one not from Charles only, but one agreed on by the whole people of the Franks[1]. But at its nature we are left to guess. We know not whether it took the outspoken shape of "I will not," or whether Charles had reached the more graceful, diplomatic, stage, expressed in the mere form, "'I go, Sir,' and went not." In any case Charles went not; his successors went on that errand; Pippin, King and Patrician, Charles, Patrician, King, and Emperor, obeyed the call of the chief of the faith, and reaped their earthly things as the reward of their loyalty to their ghostly father. But Charles Martel

[1] See Appendix, Note 1.

stayed and died in his own land, among his own people. Or we might rather say that he needed not to cross the Alps to rule and to die in a Roman land which he and his fathers had won by German arms. The Frank of the East, conqueror of Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, had indeed made the home of the Roman his own, when he found his last abode at Quierzy and his abiding seven feet of ground in the minster of Saint Denis[1].

§ 4. *The Last Days of Charles Martel.* 740–741.

[This section was never written here as intended. It was to give an account of the Great Moot or Council at which Charles dealt out the rule of the Franks between his sons; the Swabians and East-Franks were to obey Karlmann, the West-Franks and Burgundians to look to Pippin. After which things Charles died, Oct. 21, 741.]

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[1] [It is worth perhaps noting that the last three remaining kings (Chilperich, 715-20; Theuderich, 720-37; Childerich, 743-53) did not, as far as is known, leave coins in their names. M. de Longpérier recognizes in a denarius of the seventh century the name of Ebroin, whom he believes to be the Neustrian Mayor.

There are coins of Pippin, but not of Charles his father, nor of the elder Pippin his grandfather. One of Pippin's denarii has Dom[inus] Pipi[nus]; the rest have Pipi[nus] R[ex], or the like. Down to the Council of Vernon July 11, 755, Pippin strikes twenty-five solidi to the pound, after that twenty-two solidi to the pound. He has about forty several mints, but no great quantity of his coin is known to exist. See Engel and Saussure, Traité de Numismatique au Moyen Age, vol. i, 1891.]

§ 5. *The Joint Rule of Karlmann and Pippin.* 741–747.

Few men in the history of the world have found themselves in a stranger position than that in which the two undoubtedly legitimate sons of Charles Martel found themselves at their father's death. A kingdom had been divided between them, exactly as it might have been divided between the sons of a king; yet they were neither kings nor king's sons. They are, like their father, spoken of by every title short of kingship; all the cognates and derivates of the kingly title are freely applied to them; we may even safely say that, even in their own language, there is a nearer approach to a royal style than was ever employed by their father, and that this advance in point of form is still more to be noticed in the language of others than it is in their own [1]. Still the actual title by which

[1] A document of 743 (Pardessus, ii. 382—its matter is worth notice, allowing the writing afresh of a burned document; cf. Kemble, Cod. Dipl.) begins "in Dei nomine Pipinus major domus. *Regni nostri* augere credimus monumentum," &c. It is dated "anno secundo principatus Pipini ejusdem." Childeric is not yet king, but the years of the mayor have displaced those of the dead king. In p. 402 in the year 746 "Karlemannus major domus filius quondam Karoli" with his son Drogo date "regnante Hildrico rege." We get other and more royal-sounding formulæ in other documents of the interregnum other than those of the mayors themselves. Thus in p. 467, "regnante Domno nostro Jesu Christo in perpetuum anno primo post obitum Carlo Majoro regnante domno Carlomanno duce Francorum." Again in p. 469, "in anno primo Principatum Carlomanno et Pippino majorum domûs." In p. 470, "anno primo regnante domino nostro Carlomanno." In p. 471, "anno primo regnante domno Carlomanno duce post obitum Carlo principe majorem domus palacio regis." In the next page, "anno secundo post obitum domini nostri Carloni quando successerunt in regno filii sui Carlomannus et Pippinus." And again, "anno secundo principatu Carlomanno et Pippino ducibus Francorum quando successerunt in regnum." But these formulæ cease when there is again a king. Then in p. 473 and those that follow we come to "anno iii. regni domni nostri Hilderici regis;" in one case even "gloriosi regis." The way in which all the derivatives and cognates of "rex" are applied to the

their position is described in their own mouths does not change; it is still a Mayor of the Palace who speaks and acts, in worldly affairs at least. It might seem that, when they act as defenders and rulers of the Church, a lordlier style was, perhaps taken by them, perhaps thrust upon them. In such matters, even more than in their temporal acts, the supremacy of an officer of the king's household, especially when there was no king, might seem yet more out of place, and might be more gladly veiled under the more seemly style of a Duke and Prince of the Franks[1]. The strangeness of their formal position, as joint mayors of a palace in which there was no king to dwell, came out yet more strongly than in the years in which their father had reigned without a king. Charles Martel was old in power; friends and enemies were alike used to him; he could deal the blows of his hammer as well under one title as another, as well in his own name as in that of a shadowy Merwing. Karlmann and Pippin were new in power, and in those days a new ruler had commonly to give proofs that he was able to rule before he could obtain obedience, at any rate from those who could set up the faintest shadow of a right to refuse it. Charles himself had had to fight both to win power and to keep it; his few years of peace came very late in his reign. Karlmann and Pippin had in one sense a more undisputed claim to dominion than their father had had; they were at least named by their father as his successors. But it is needless to

reigning mayor but never the word "rex" itself is exactly the usage of Ammianus and others of his times with regard to the Emperors.

[1] A difference is at once marked between the formulæ of the Charters and other deeds in Pardessus and the Capitalium in the first volume of Pertz. Here (Legg. i. 16) Karlmann in 742 is made to call himself "dux et princeps Francorum" and to speak of "episcopi qui in meo regno sunt." So Pippin in 744, when there was a king (p. 20), "in anno secundo Childerici regis Francorum ego Pippinus dux et princeps Francorum;" but his signature at the end, more distinctly perhaps his own act than his description in the body of the capitulary, is "Signum inluster vir Pippino, majorum domus."

say that their claim to succeed to the rule of the Frankish kingdom was one which was open to cavil from the mouth of any one who chose to cavil. Granting that their formal office had by usage become hereditary, it was open to anybody to ask by what right the Mayor of the Palace claimed to exercise the authority of the King, and, at the few moments when the King was brought forward to speak or act, to dictate to him how he was to speak and act. Still more might men ask by what right the Mayor of the Palace had latterly dispensed with any king at all, and had himself spoken and acted in the name of nobody. Men had accepted the reign of Charles because he had taught them that he could and would reign; it did not follow that, before any such teaching, they were to accept the rule of his sons. And the sons of Charles laboured under the further disadvantage that they were two men while their father had been only one. There had often been two or more mayors, but that was because there had been two or more kings; the king of Austria needed his mayor and the king of Neustria needed his. But two mayors of an empty palace, claiming to divide between them a kingdom where there was no king, were in a yet stranger case than a single mayor reigning, in whatever name, with undivided powers. The position was more strange in itself; it became stranger still when power passed from the tried ruler Charles Martel to his untried sons. In the lands which were dependent on the Frankish crown but not incorporated with the Frankish kingdom the case against the two rulers was strongest of all. Within the Frankish kingdom Karlmann and Pippin might rest their claim on the plea that the division made by their father had been confirmed by a Frankish assembly. But such a plea could have no weight with a Duke of Aquitaine or Bavaria. To say nothing of the natural disposition of every dependent prince to throw off his dependence whenever he has a chance, Hunold or Odilo might argue as the gravest matter of law; "I am the vassal of the King

of the Franks, ready to do my duty to the King of the Franks whenever I can see such an one; but I am bound to no dependence or submission towards you two mayors, who have no claim to my homage, and who have carried off my overlord I know not whither. I did indeed submit to your father, because he proved himself to be stronger than I; you too must prove yourself to be stronger than I before I shall submit to you on that score[1]."

That question, and other questions like it, had to be tried in the very first days of the reign of the two brothers. They had indeed one advantage in the unbroken brotherly unity with which they acted; not a single quarrel is recorded, not a sign of jealousy makes itself shown in the six years in which Karlmann and Pippin ruled over the Franks. This is very unlike the usual story either of the Merwing house or of their own; the next pair of Karling brothers did not agree so well. But the sons of Charles, like their father, had to strive against foes in their own household; they, like him, had a step-mother and a half-brother, among their enemies, and the tie which so closely bound the two sons of the same mother sat more lightly on their sister of the whole blood. Grifo and his mother began their stirs from the first moment of the accession of Karlmann and Pippin. The falling away of the dependent nations soon followed. Aquitaine, Alamannia, Saxony, at once threw off their dependence on the Frankish power. The Bavarian duke waited only till he could make his revolt a little more vexatious by revolting in the character of a brother-in-law.

The real position of Swanahild and her son at this moment is not a little puzzling. Had Grifo, or had he not, any possession, any claim, any hope on which to found a claim, on any part of what we may fairly call the dominion of his father? Did his elder brothers deprive or

[1] So Waitz, Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, iii. 42; "Vielleicht auch deshalb, weil es eine Zeitlang keinen Merovingischen König gab, in dessen Namen die Unterwerfung gefordert werden konnte."

seek to deprive him of anything which his father had granted to him, at whatever time and under whatever circumstances? This depends on the view which we take of the very last acts of Charles Martel. Perhaps on the whole the balance is in favour of that view which makes Charles, perhaps on his death-bed, under the influence of Swanahild, make a new partition of the kingdom, in which certain central lands were assigned as the portion of her son. He died; whether the division actually took effect seems doubtful; at any rate the thought of it, in deed or in design, stirred up general wrath among the Franks. The words put into their mouths are that they would not endure being taken away from the lawful heirs at the bidding of a bad woman[1]. These last phrases need not be taken as proving anything as to the position of Swanahild and her son in point of marriage and legitimacy. On those points Frankish public opinion was not likely to be very scrupulous; what is meant is that they were satisfied with the division regularly made between Karlmann and Pippin, and that they did not wish it to be disturbed by the practice of an intriguing woman, whether wife or mistress. Such may well have been the feeling of the great majority of the nation, though it is plain that Grifo had a following and not a very small one. We here have two accounts; the version which mentions the act of Charles in favour of Grifo makes the first act of hostility come from the elder brothers. They at once gather a force to make Grifo prisoner. In the other version it is Grifo who, at his father's death, aspires to the rule of the whole Frankish realm to the exclusion of both his elder brothers[2]. It is also to be noticed that Saint Boniface addresses Grifo as one who was, or was likely to be, in possession of power; he speaks of him as one who was dear to him and who had been commended to him by his parents. He asks for help to defend the clergy, monks, nuns, and generally the Christian folk, of Thuringia,

[1] See Appendix, Note 2.

[2] See Appendix, Note 2.

against the attacks of heathen enemies[1]. One point is clear, whatever Grifo did his mother was the doer of it; he could not at this time have been much above fifteen years of age[2]. As to the geography of the campaign both versions are agreed. The place at which, in one account, Grifo with his followers sought shelter from the pursuit of his brothers, the place which, in the other account, he seized in defiance of his brothers, was no other than that Lugdunum, Lugdunum Clavatum, of less fame in the general history of Gaul than the greater Lugdunum by the Rhone, but which has won for itself a special place in the history of the Karolingian house[3]. It was on the hill of Laon, the hill wrought by the hand of nature into the form of a mighty amphitheatre, an amphitheatre from which we seem to look down on the strifes of kings and kingly houses, it was in the city on the hill, where all has ever been akropolis, the city which was to be the last kingly seat of the descendants of Charles Martel, that his widow, if so we are to call her, established for a moment the power of her son, or rather her own in defiance of his elder and undoubtedly lawful brothers. But the intrigues of Swanahild were not confined to asserting the pretensions of her own son. By what means we are not told, but we should greatly like to know how, she had won influence in the household of her rival or predecessor, and she now stirred up Chiltrudis, the daughter of Charles, the whole sister of Karlmann and Pippin, to a strange step. Without the consent of her brothers, without in any way consulting them, but by the suggestion of Swanahild and the help of those who were

[1] See Appendix, Note 2.

[2] It was in 725 that Charles Martel brought her and her aunt out of Bavaria.

[3] In Gregory of Tours (vi. 4) we seem first to hear of the "Urbs Lugdun Clavati." It seems (see Longnon, Géographie de la Gaule, 121) to be always "Lugdunum" in some shape or another. Here we have for the first time the softened form "Laudunum"—"Laudunum civitas" in Einhard. In the Metz Annals it is still "Lugdunum Clavatum."

in league with Swanahild, she crossed the Rhine, betook herself to Bavaria, and there found a husband in the reigning Duke Odilo[1]. Much came of that marriage and its fruits; at the moment it was a step taken against the interest of Karlmann and Pippin, and whatever influence Chiltrudis won over the mind of her husband was used to the disadvantage of her brothers. It is a strange story, to the understanding of which we have no reasonable clue; we can only say that it rests on good authority and that it is not recorded in the accounts which are most distinctly in the interest of the acknowledged Karolingian princes. Meanwhile storms from outside were brewing everywhere, and the brothers had to hasten to put an end to the source of discord with the Frankish realm. Laon was besieged and was surrendered. Grifo was put in prison in one of the many places in all lands which bear the name of *Newcastle*. This one is near the wood of Ardennes, Neufchateau near the more modern Charleville, near the boundary line of the kingdoms whose separation was merely foreshadowed by the partition between the brother mayors. It was then under the rule of Karlmann, and the imprisonment of this half-brother was specially his act[2]. Swanahild, according to one account, was sent for safety or reformation to the monastery of Chelles near Paris[3].

Swanahild, as her story shows, must have had a party

[1] The Continuator of Fredegar, 111, who has nothing to say about Grifo, is full on the share of Swanahild in this matter; "Chiltrudis quoque filia ejus, faciente consilio nefario novercæ suæ, fraudulenter per manus sodalium suorum Rhenum transiit, et ad Odilonem ducem Bagoariæ pervenit; ille vero eam conjugium copulavit contra voluntatem vel consilium fratrum suorum."

[2] The language of Einhard is emphatic; "Karlomannus Grifonem sumens, in Novo-Castello, quod juxta Arduennam situm est, custodiri fecit, in qua custodia usque ad tempus quo idem Karlomanus Romam profectus est, dicitur permansisse." Cf. Ann. Mett. 747.

[3] So say the Metz Annals, 741; "Sonihildi vero Calam monasterium dederunt." Does this mean that they made her abbess? But one hardly knows how to accept anything on the single authority of the Metz writer.

among the Franks; but it is plain that the mass of the nation clave steadfastly to the two brothers. But the dependent lands were fast falling away now the hand that had wielded the Hammer no longer held them together. That the Saxons should strike another blow for independence was to be taken for granted; it is indeed rather implied than asserted; but one solitary notice is memorable; for the first time since the days of Samo we hear of a Slavonic war, and the Slaves now spoken of appear as allies of the Saxons[1]. They must have been their neighbours to the East, the Wilts and Obotrites. Alamannia too, which since the captivity and death of its duke Landfrid[2] (742) seems to have been looked on as incorporated with the Frankish realm, now rose under a duke of its own, Theodbald brother of Landfrid, who raised the standard of independence or at least of separate being in the western part of the Alamannian land, by this time fully known as Elsass[3]. These revolts specially touched Karlmann; it was he, as ruler of Austria, who had to keep the realm against all German enemies or German rebels. The Alamannian revolt touched him above all; the land, shorn of its dukes, had been put under his care as an immediate part of the Frankish dominion. But Karlmann was not the only brother threatened; Pippin was no less touched when his southern neighbour, Hunold of Aquitaine, in some shape or other, refused all acknowledgement of the new representatives of the Frankish power. From the Loire to the Pyrenees the southern lands again fell away

[1] The Slaves appear only in the Annales Lobienses, 742; Pertz, ii. 194; "Karlomannus et Pippinus Odilonem . . . et Tietbaldum . . . Saxones quoque et Slavos commisso prelio super fluvium Lech superant." One cannot put much faith in this as the Bavarian war is put out of its place and mixed up with a Saxon war which is not spoken of elsewhere, but the appearance of the Slaves is so unexpected that the annalist can hardly have dreamt it.

[2] See Waitz, iii. 44.

[3] Annales Guelferbytani, 741; 'Teudeballus reversus in Alsatia rebellavit cum Wascones, Bainvarii et Saxones." Some of the annals kill him this year, but he appears again in 745.

from all German masters, from all German overlords[1]. It plainly needed the full power of the Frankish nation to win back its supremacy over the lands on both sides of it, over the lands both of Latin and Teutonic speech.

Religious devotion was a strong feature in the character of both brothers, in that of Karlmann in a most marked way. Their father had been, in the Eastern lands at least, what we may best call a friend of the Church. He had given encouragement and help to the English and other missionaries; he was the special ally of Boniface, who always speaks of him with the deepest respect; but he does not appear personally as a Church reformer or as personally occupying himself with ecclesiastical matters of any kind. With his sons it is otherwise. They are more than friends of the Church; they are its active and zealous members, or more truly its chiefs. Karlmann indeed seems to have given almost his first moments of power to ecclesiastical reforms. In the April of the year (April 742) that followed his father's death he brought together the first synod of the East-Frankish Church[2]. The course of ecclesiastical affairs will better be traced apart from the course of wars and fightings; but it is well to mark that Karlmann seems to have been actually called away from his ecclesiastical labours to win back the lost dependencies of the Frankish crown.

The first of these lands against which the two brothers marched was the duchy of Aquitaine, where Hunold no

[1] The Continuator of Fredegar, 111, brings in the revolt of Aquitaine in this form; "Rebellantibus Wasconibus in regione Aquitaniæ, cum Chunoaldo duce, filio Eudone quondam." Did he and the chronicler just quoted look on all Hunold's subjects as Gascons?

The Metz Annalist, whom one never knows whether to trust or not, takes this opportunity, or rather the opportunity of the campaigns of the next year, to bring out the case of Hunold as strongly as he can; "Eidem Hunaldo Karolus princeps Aquitaniorum ducatum tribuit, quando *sibi et filiis suis* fidem promisit. Defuncto vero Karolo, ab jure fidei promissæ superba præsumptione deceptus recessit."

[2] This is the synod which ordained the capitulary already quoted. Pertz, Legg. i. 16.

longer acknowledged the supremacy of the kingdom which was left without a king. They crossed the Loire at Orleans, and overcame the first resistance, whatever shape it took, which met them when they first entered the lands of the south. It is a German, a Frank of Austria, who records the enterprise; yet even in his mouth we should hardly have expected to find the first success of Karlmann and Pippin described as a victory over the Romans[1]. The name is worth halting to think over. Austria was still Teutonic; in Neustria the Frank had made himself a home, and, if he had himself been largely brought under Roman influences, he had spread no small amount of Teutonic influences over its Roman people. But south of the Loire the Frank had at most ruled without settling, and even his rule had now passed away. Whatever may have been the descent of a prince who bore the Teutonic name of Hunold, he ruled over a Roman land and a Roman people; the German was again marching to Roman conquests as much as when Chlodowig marched forth to battle with Syagrius. But as yet we cannot say that Karlmann and Pippin marched to any conquests at the cost of the Romans of Aquitaine. They showed their power only in the character of plunderers and destroyers. They marched to Bourges, the head of Aquitaine; but the city on the hill of Avaricum was beyond their powers of besieging. They were satisfied with burning the undefended suburbs[2]. The chronicler who goes into most detail claims for them that they put the Duke of Aquitaine to flight and chased him to some unknown point, harrying as they went[3].

[1] Cont. Fred. 111; "Ligeris alveum Aurilianis urbe transeunt, Romanos proterunt." He would almost seem to have got his formula from the words in which Orosius (729) describes the crossing of the Rhine in 407, "Francos proterunt Rhenum transeunt Gallias invadunt," words of which so odd an use is made by Gregory of Tours, ii. 9.

[2] Ib.; "Usque Beturigas urbem accedunt, suburbana ipsius igne comburunt."

[3] Ib.; "Chunaldum ducem persequentes fugant cuncta vastantes." But one can hardly take literally the statement of the Ann. Petav. 742, which carries the war "in Wasconiam."

There is nothing to mark the extent of their march; but we may hazard the guess that the invaders never saw the Garonne. We next hear of them on their return journey at no surprising distance from their own borders. The spot is more famous in later times; but the northern Lucca, which on French lips has become Loches, had seen a church and a fortress arise before the days of Gregory of Tours[1]. There, if nowhere else, the brothers won an undisputed victory; they took the town and destroyed it, and carried off its defenders and inhabitants as captives[2]. After the taking of Loches, so we are told, yet according to geography it must surely have been before it, the brothers held a conference at a place near the union of the rivers Clain and Vienne, north of the city of Poitiers, and which, as in so many other cases, claims, by its name of Old Poitiers, an earlier being than the historic capital of the land[3]. There, so say our informants, they divided

[1] I suppose that this Lucca bears the same name as the better-known city where Cæsar used to winter, just like the two Bonnoniæ at the two ends of Gaul. See Longnon, 275. Gregory mentions it in the History of the Franks, x. 31, as Lucas or Luccas in the accusative. In the Vitæ Patrum, xviii. 1, it is Loccis in the nominative, with the various reading Lucas.

I hope I am right in bringing the Frankish host to Loches on a return march, that is, in supposing them to have made some serious raid into at least the central parts of Aquitaine. But it is quite open to any one to keep the campaign altogether on the border, to confine the chasing of Duke Hunold to the land between Bourges to the east and Loches to the west, and to make Old Poitiers the most southern point of the expedition.

[2] The doom of Loches and its inhabitants seems hard enough in Cont. Fred. 111; "Lucca castrum diruunt atque funditus subvertunt, custodes illius castri capiunt, et inibi victores existunt. Prædam sibi dividentes, habitatores ejusdem loci secum captivos duxerunt." But the Metz annalist seems to have looked for a general massacre, as he says, "Inter has aliasque firmitates [this word seems to be just now coming in] castrum quod appellatur Lucas viriliter conquisierunt, et *misericorditer civibus captis pepercerunt.*" This writer (cf. Note 11) is clearly anxious to make the most of things.

[3] The name of the place, "locus qui dicitur Vetus Pictavis," is noticed in Ann. Lauriss., Einh., Mett. It of course proves just as little

between them the kingdom which they held in common[1]. These words again we must explain according to the view which we take of the position of Grifo at his father's death. The most obvious meaning—though it suggests the question why they did not do it before—is that now, at the end of their campaign, they divided between them the districts which had been assigned to Grifo, that is they restored the earlier division which their father had made before he yielded to the influences of Swanahild[2]. If we accept the other version, we must suppose that the arrangements for the separate administration of the Eastern and Western lands were now formally settled. It is to be noticed that those who speak of the division at Old Poitiers send Karlmann alone on his next expedition, while those who pass it by make it a joint work of both brothers[3]. One thing

for Poitevin geography as "Viel Evreux," "Zara Vecchia," and a crowd of others.

[1] What was done at Old Poitiers is more important than the name of the place. The Continuator of Fredegar mentions no place in the campaign except Bourges and Loches. But a division at Old Poitiers appears in the Annales Laurissenses, 742, "in ipso itinere diviserunt regnum Francorum inter se in loco qui dicitur Vetus Pictavis." Einhard enlarges a little; "priusquam ex ea provincia secederunt, regnum quod communiter habuerant diviserunt inter se in loco qui vocatur Vetus Pictavis." Metz copies the older entry, leaving out the words "inter se."

[2] See Appendix, Note 2.

[3] In Einhard's, the fullest, account, it is; "Eodem anno postquam domum regressi sunt, Karlomannus Alemanniam quæ et ipsa Francorum societate defecerat, cum exercitu ingressus, ferro et igni vastavit." The elder annals, copied by Metz, are to the same effect in fewer words. But the Continuator, 111, having recorded the captivity of the people of Loches, goes on; "Inde reversi circa tempus autumni, eodem anno iterum exercitum admoverunt ultra Rhenum contra Alemannos."

It is certainly to be marked that those who speak of the division speak of the single action of Karlmann, as if it were a consequence of it. This has almost the force of a correction of the laxer statement which speaks, by a not unnatural bit of carelessness, of both brothers going when only one went. The smaller Annals give us little help. The statement in Ann. Petav., "743. Vastavit Karolomannus

is certain, that when the Frankish leaders came back to Loches they were as far from being masters of Aquitaine as when they crossed the Loire at Orleans. They had harried, but they had done nothing more, and one may suspect that they had harried only a small part of the Roman duchy. They may have put Hunold to flight; but they had not caught him, nor brought him to any kind of submission. Aquitaine remained a separate, for a while an independent land, a land which was to call for many years of fighting before it became a Frankish possession, and which never again became a Frankish possession in the same full sense in which it had been in the days of Chilperic and Guntchramn.

In the revolted Teutonic lands the brothers were more successful. The Saxons seem to have been left to themselves for a season[1]; a Saxon campaign might be looked for at any time and might be waged at any time; Bavaria did not stir so soon after the marriage of its duke; the one land that had at once to be dealt with was Alamannia. The brothers crossed the Rhine in the fall of the year; they marched to the Danube and there pitched their camp at an unknown spot described by the strange name of *Usquequo*[2]. If that name is to be taken as a warning, Hitherto thou shalt come and no further, there was in this case no need to go further. Whether there was any actual

Alamanniam," loses any force that it might have had through the entry just before, "Karolomannus perrexit in Wasconiam."

The view that we take of the division must depend on the view that we take of the position of Grifo at his father's death. See above, p. 52, and Waitz, iii. 31.

[1] The revolt of the Saxons, not mentioned in any of the greater annals, seems clear from the passages quoted above, p. 54. But, while several of the annals in Pertz, i. 26, 27, take Karlmann into Saxony in 743, only one takes him thither in 742 (Ann. Laur., "Carlomannus et Odilone hostem in Saxonia"), which is clearly too early for Odilo.

[2] Cont. Fred. 111; "Sederuntque castra metati super fluvium Danuvii, in loco nuncupato Usquequo." Nobody seems to be able to make anything of "Usquequo." See Hahn, 24; Richter, 203.

fighting or not is not clear, but the revolted people made a submission which after all was not a full submission. The Alamans again admitted the Frankish supremacy; they gave gifts and hostages; but they could not have been at this stage brought under immediate Frankish administration; Duke Theodbald kept for a season the duchy which he had taken to himself in defiance of the Frankish power[1].

The first year of the war waged by the sons of Charles Martel to win back their father's dominion had not led to any very great measure of success. Aquitaine, once a vassal duchy—in earlier times an immediate Frankish possession—was now independent, harried, it may be, but not subdued. Alamannia, a full Frankish possession under Charles, had failed to attain to full independence, but it had won for itself the intermediate position of Home Rule under its own duke. The Saxons were not touched[2]. It may be that the brother mayors were led by all this to see the more strongly how strange the position was of a kingdom which had no king. For they now took a step which no annalist has taken the trouble to record, which is proved beyond doubt by the sure evidence of documents, and which might be inferred from the annalists themselves. The annals of twenty-three years earlier record the accession of the fourth Theodoric; the annals of three years later record the deposition of the third Childeric; but no annals record either the accession of Childeric or the death of Theodoric. But we have seen from the documents that the death of Theodoric was not immediately followed by

[1] Most of the Annals merely mention the harrying of the country. The Continuator gives a more distinct account; "Habitatores Alamanni se victos videntes, obsides donant, jura promittunt, munera offerunt, et pacem petentes eorum se ditioni submittunt." But that the submission went no further than is said in the text is plain from Theodbald again appearing as Duke.

[2] Even if we accept the share of Saxons in the Bavarian war and therefore in the Bavarian defeat of 743, there is no sign of any action against them in their own land till 745.

the accession of Childeric, but that six years passed during which the Frankish kingdom had no king. In the year after the wars of Aquitaine and Alamannia this interregnum comes to an end; deeds are no longer dated by the years after the death of Theodoric or by the years of Karlmann and Pippin; they are again dated by the years of a king's reign, the reign of the glorious King Childeric. We know for certain that in this year (743), a year in which Karlmann was busy with ecclesiastical matters, most likely in the *Marchfield* that accompanied his ecclesiastical synod of Estinnes in Hennegau[1], a new Merwing, the last of the brood, was brought forth and doubtless heaved on the shield as the lawful heir of Chlodowig. Childeric the Third was now the lawful lord of all the Franks, lord among them of the two mayors, dukes, patricians, consuls—the old title of Chlodowig, refused by their father, appears again[2]—who held that God had given to them the kingdom of the Franks to look after[3], but who were now convinced that part of their duty towards it was to give it a king. The act would seem to have been specially the act of Karlmann, whom Childeric specially acknowledges as the man who set him on the throne[4]. Scholars have striven in vain to fix the exact pedigree of the last Merwing[5]. Then and now it

[1] The capitulary, dealing wholly with religious and moral matters, was passed "in hoc synodali conventu qui congregatus est ad calendas Martias in loco qui dicitur Liftinas." Pertz, Legg. i. 18.

[2] Pertz, xvi. 480; "Primus annus Childerici regis Francorum cum consulibus suis Carlemanno et Pippino."

[3] "Inluster Karlomannus, major-domus, filius Karoli quondam, cui Dominus regendi curæ committit." Pardessus, ii. 405. It is dated in the fifth year of Childeric.

[4] Ib. ii. 387; "Hildricus, rex Francorum, viro inclito Karlomanno, majore-domus, rectori palatio nostro, qui nobis in solium regni instituit."

[5] Hahn has a special "Excurs" (p. 164), "Über Childerichs III. Regierungsantritt und seine Abstammung," but he comes to no certain conclusion. There was truly no reason why anybody should take the trouble to set down who his parents were. Both in law and in practice one Merwing was as kingly as another.

might alike be said that one Merwing could serve the turn as well as another. No actions of Childeric are known, any more than any acts of Theodoric; he had to go through his kingly functions, such as they were, which doubtless Childeric, whatever his immediate descent, could go through as effectually as Theodoric. He had to give ear to foreign envoys as his Mayor bade him; he had to set his mark to the charters which were brought before him for his royal assent and which were held to express his royal will. What the mayor willed, the king, we may be sure, always willed also. There was little chance of the answer made by Childeric to Karlmann or Pippin ever taking any shape that might pass for the formula of "Le Roi s'avisera" in a Frankish or Latin shape[1].

Now why was so empty a pageant, as it seems to us, set up again after the Frankish realm had for six years done without a king? One can answer the question by appealing to the effect which, as a matter of fact, forms, words, titles, have on men's minds, and which thereby makes them into something more than forms, words, and titles. That Karlmann and Pippin set up a king of the house of the Merwings proves two things; first, that they found that the kingdom needed a king; secondly, that they either had not as yet thought of kingship for themselves, or that they thought that the time for a king of the house of the Karlings had not yet come. We have already seen several ways in which it would be convenient to the real

[1] Erchambert (Pertz, ii. 328), in his somewhat mythical Breviarium, picks out specially this point of the signatures; but he confounds names and dates; "Carlomannus et Pipinus frater ejus, regno inter se diviso, Francorum principatum simul tenuerunt annis 10; interea tamen, ut aiunt, præfatus Theodericus rex nomen non regnum tenuit, sed minore dignitate quam anteriores reges habebant, nisi tantum ut quando prædicti principes chartas traditionum fecerant, in fine paginolæ suum nomen annumque inscribant." Can "reges" be meant as the nominative to "inscribant"? Did Erchambert look on this Theodoric as a more ready scribe than Charles the Great or Theodoric the Great either?

ruler, as long as he was not himself a king, to have a king in whose name he could act, and that the pageants and formulæ of kingship had become more needful, now that the real dominion was not in the single grasp of the mighty Charles but was divided between his two comparatively untried sons[1]. Some outward badge of the unity of the Frankish nation was needed. Such an one there had been as long as Charles had wielded his hammer; there was now no one chief of the people, there was nothing to be the centre round which all might gather on the field of March. To give the realm again such a centre of unity, the phantom of Merowingian kingship was set up once more[2]. And the appointment of the king at this particular moment, just after the Aquitanian and Alamannian campaigns, looks as if the brother Mayors thought that they would succeed better another time in enforcing the Frankish supremacy, if they had the name of a Frankish king to conjure with. And the thought that one of their own house might mount the throne was less likely to come into the heads of the two brothers as long as there were two. That daring flight of ambition—for daring it surely was—most likely came only when the Frankish realm had again a single master.

So once more a Merwing reigned, while two Karlings governed, each in his own half of the kingdom of the Merwing. The Franks had again a king (743), like other nations, though certainly not a king to go before them, like the kings of other nations. That duty fell on the glorious brethren, as an admiring writer of a somewhat later time calls, by a somewhat kingly style, the two valiant sons of Charles the Hammer[3]. And the new king had hardly

[1] See above, p. 50.

[2] Ranke, Weltgeschichte, v. 12; "Es lag für die Einheit des Reiches, welche den Heerbann nicht aufgeben mochte, die Nothwendigkeit vor, einen Fürsten und Herrn anzuerkennen, der die Einheit der beiden Reichstheile repräsentirte."

[3] Ann. Mett. 743; "Gloriosi germani."

been set on his throne before Karlmann and Pippin had to go forth indeed before their people on perhaps the hardest work to which they had yet been called. According to every account, they had to struggle with one formidable enemy; according to one version, a league of formidable enemies arose against them, from the hands of one of whom the Frankish land had to endure a wasting invasion which it could not at once avenge. On any showing, the leader of revolt against Frankish supremacy was Duke Odilo of Bavaria, who had lately become the brother-in-law of the two Karling mayors. As he did not revolt before, and as he did revolt now, one is tempted to connect his revolt with his marriage. Had Hiltrudis, who had run away and married under the mysterious influence of Swanahild, done anything to stir up her husband against her brothers? We must remember the Bavarian birth of Swanahild, her near kindred with Odilo; if she kept any influence in her own country or over its prince, and had any means of exercising it, it would of course be used against Karlmann and Pippin. Odilo then undoubtedly threw off all dependence on his Frankish overlord[1]. Did he at all feel dependence the more galling, because he had again a personal overlord? Had he been called on to become in any more definite way the man of King Childeric, instead of the vaguer relation of dependent alliance with the Frankish power in whatever hands? In any case, Duke Odilo, the friend and helper of Saint Boniface, was not at war with the other friends and helpers of Saint Boniface. In one account he appears as the head of a great general movement, Teutonic, Slavonic, and Roman, against the Frankish power; he leagued

[1] Cont. Fred. 112; "Cognatus eorum Odilo dux Bagoariorum contra ipsos rebellionem incitat." "Cognatus" must here mean "brother-in-law." So more fully the Metz annalist, 743, who had the Continuator before him; "Ogdilo dux Baioariorum, qui Hiltrudem filiam Karoli ad se fugientem in conjugium sibi copulaverat, contra voluntatem Pippini et Karlomanni, se et etiam ducatum suum, quem largiente olim Karolo principe habuerat, a dominatione Francorum subtrahere nitebatur."

himself with the Duke of Aquitaine in a bond to do all that their joint powers could do against the common enemy; he even, in some mysterious manner, tried to win the influence of the Roman see to his side. All these things are asserted; none of them is contradicted; none of them is impossible or unlikely; it is hard to believe that they are all sheer inventions[1]. We know that Karlmann and Pippin led an expedition into Bavaria; we are further told that, while they were so engaged, Duke Hunold of Aquitaine crossed the Loire with a great host, marched to Chartres, and burned the city, along with the earlier church of Our Lady which then crowned the hill that looks down on the wide corn-land, out of which the Aquitanian invaders doubtless reaped a mighty plunder. This surely cannot be pure fiction; as such, it would be daring indeed.

Of the Bavarian campaign of the glorious brethren our earliest narrative tells us that they marched with the full force of the Frankish realm as far as the Lech, the boundary stream of Alamannia and Bavaria, which flowed by the walls of Augusta Vindelicorum. At the spot where they reached the stream, there was no crossing, for beyond the stream, Duke Odilo, defending his own territory, had reared a mighty dike; for fifteen days the armies sat on the two sides of the river, while the Franks, who had come to invade, but who could do nothing in the way of invasion, had all that time to put up with the mockery of their enemies. Among those enemies are said to have been, not only the natural subjects of Odilo, but Saxon, Alaman, and Slavonic allies or mercenaries, the Alamans being under the command of their Duke Theodbald. One might rather have looked for these last to stop the march of the Franks before they reached the Lech. We are further told that in the Bavarian host was one sent by Pope Zachary, the presbyter Sergius, who, at Odilo's bidding, went, seemingly on the fifteenth day, to the Frankish camp, and warned

[1] On the details of this war see Appendix, Note 3.

Karlmann and Pippin, in the name of the Roman Bishop, to depart out of the Bavarian coasts. Sergius, Cardinal, if the name is not premature, of the church of Saint Pudentiana in Rome, may very likely have been sent on some mission to the Bavarian Duke, a zealous friend of saints and missionaries; only are we to believe that Pope Zachary sent him with any such message as this to his other friends the Princes of the Franks? One of the chief of modern scholars accepts the story as genuine[1]; the annalist from whom we get the tale seems to believe that Sergius was sent on a real mission to Bavaria, but that this particular message to the Frankish princes was no bidding of Pope Zachary, but was devised between Sergius and Duke Odilo. Pippin, we are told,—why did he speak and not his elder brother?—made answer that no such message as this was sent by Saint Peter or by his successor in the apostolic chair. It was perhaps this message, false or genuine, which stung the Franks or their leaders to action. They found some unfrequented point for crossing the river; they made their way round about through wild and marshy places, and set on the Bavarian camp by night. A battle followed, in which many Franks were slain before the day was won, but in the end the victory was with Karlmann and Pippin. Among the prisoners taken in the battle were the priest Sergius, and a bishop, in whom we seem to see Girbald, whom Saint Boniface and Duke Odilo had placed in the newly founded see of Regensburg[2]. They were brought before the conquerors. What they said we

[1] Ranke, Weltgeschichte, v. 5: "Das Bedeutendste aber ist, dass auch der damalige Papst Zacharias, denn auch mit Rom war Baiern in ein Verhältniss hierarchischer Unterordnung getreten, zu der Seite Odilos hinneigte. Er schickte einen Legaten nach Baiern um die beiden Brüder aufzufordern von dem Blutvergiessen abzustehen, in dem sie doch ihren Zweck nicht erreichen würden."

[2] He is "Gauzebaldus episcopus" in the Metz Annals. Pertz in his [illegible] marks Regensburg as his see. He appears in both the lives of Boniface in the account of the foundation of the Bavarian bishopric.

[illegible] in Willibald vii. Jaffé Mon. Mog. [illegible] and as Gowibolt [illegible] Mon. Mog. [illegible].

not told; but Pippin is again made to address them in
ıtting discourse which seems quite inconsistent with any
.ef on his part in the genuineness of the message of
gius. He strongly sets forth the doctrine that the
fare of nations, no less than the judicial battle of
rate disputants, was an appeal to the assize of God's
gement, in which victory was sure to fall to the
ıteous cause. This logic, so comfortable to the stronger
ıny quarrel, was enforced by Pippin with the calmness
ıne telling an undoubted truth[1]. He reminded Sergius
is message the day before, and of the answer which he
then received. He might know by that day's work
t the cause of the Frank was just; had it been other-
e, Saint Peter would never have given the Frankish
ıs the help that he had that day given them. Sergius
ht go away in the full conviction that by the judge-
ıt of God, from which Pippin and his host had not
unk, it was ruled for ever that the land and people
Bavaria belonged to the dominion of the Franks[2].

The victors, we are told, remained in Bavaria fifty-two
ys. Odilo fled beyond the Inn; Theodbald gat him back
o his own land. But, according to some accounts, the
ourn of the Franks in the land was at last rewarded by
e capture of the Bavarian duke. He seems to have been
l a prisoner into the Frankish dominions, but to have
en in the course of the next year restored to his duchy,
t with a smaller extent of territory. In the land on the
ht bank of the Danube Odilo reigned as the vassal of
ıg Childeric; the lands on the other side, the Nordgau,
ave up to form part of the immediate Frankish territory[3].
re is perhaps some element of surmise in all this; but
clear both that Odilo was restored to his duchy and
he did not hold it very long. He must have died
ıin the next five years, as we then find Bavaria in
ession of his widow and his young son.

[1] Ann. Mett. 743; "Cui Pippinus princeps sedato pectore dixit."
[2] See Appendix, Note 3. [3] See Appendix, Note 3.

To arrange the Saxon and Alamannian wars of this time under their proper years is a hard task indeed. In truth the whole chronology is a mass of confusion[1]. But the leading facts stand out with some measure of clearness, and the order of events, though not the exact days, is comparatively easy to follow. After the great invasion of Bavaria, first Karlmann and Pippin together, then Pippin alone, had to carry on a warfare of five years in these various quarters before all the possessions and dependencies of the Frankish power were at last brought to at least a nominal submission. Then followed the unusual blessing of two years of peace (749–750). But the five years of warfare were broken by a remarkable event which divides the joint action of the two brothers from the action of Pippin only. That event, the withdrawal of Karlmann from the world, is an epoch in more ways than one. Though there is warfare before and after it, yet the warfare is of a different kind; the second stage is a renewal of disturbances, after they had been brought to an end, if only for a moment. And further the withdrawal of Karlmann from the world was closely connected as a result with the former period of warfare, while it directly led as a cause to the second. We have then before the withdrawal of Karlmann three years of struggle with Saxons, Alamans, and Aquitanians (744–746), which ended in a moment of quiet. The great Bavarian expedition was followed, either in the same year or in the next, by a journey into Saxony, as to which it is not quite clear whether it is rightly called a war (743, 744, or 745). Karlmann enters the land with an army, a Saxon fortress

[1] Hahn's eighth "Excurs" or "Die kriegerischen Ereignisse der Jahre 743-7," where he draws out the statements of the various annals in a tabular shape, is followed by a ninth, "Wie viel Sachsenkriege unter Pippins Principat und wann sie waren," and a tenth, "Ueber die Lokalitäten des Sachsenkrieges im Jahre 745." He is for only one Saxon war at this stage. Unpleasant as it is to say it, both Alamannian and Aquitanian affairs are just now of deeper interest than those of our nearer kinsfolk.

is taken, a Saxon leader becomes a prisoner, but it would almost seem that all this was the result of peaceful submission without any exchange of handstrokes[1].

However the submission was brought about, one thing is to be noticed about it. The devout Karlmann took this opportunity to extend the faith in a way which was practised on a greater scale by his more famous nephew. The Saxons who submitted were required, as part of their submission, to receive baptism. This forced kind of conversion, more akin to the spirit of Islam than to that of Christianity, has never succeeded so well with Christianity as it has with Islam. One reason for the difference is plain enough. The heathen who raised himself, the Christian who lowered himself, by accepting the faith of Arabia, became at once a brother in an adventurous brotherhood, a soldier in a conquering army, whose mission it was to spread the faith of Arabia at the sword's point. He became one of a ruling order whose mission it was to hold in bondage all who refused to enter that ruling order. With so much to kindle enthusiasm for the new faith, it would have needed a very tender conscience to fall back on the old one. No such inducements were offered to the defeated heathen who, by accepting baptism, escaped death or personal bondage. As a matter of fact, the Christians of that age were as constantly fighting as the Mussulmans; but they did not, like the Mussulmans,

[1] The Continuator of Fredegar, 113, who certainly knows only one Saxon war at this stage, describes it thus; "Evoluto triennio [744] iterum Carlomannus confinia Saxonorum, ipsis rebellantibus, cum exercitu irrupit; ibique captis habitatoribus qui suo regno esse videbantur, absque belli discrimine feliciter acquisivit, et plurimi eorum, Christo duce, baptismi sacramento consecrati fuerunt." Though he says "iterum," he has had no earlier Saxon war since the death of Charles Martel. The Annales Laurissenses agree as to the peaceful nature of the submission; but they put it in 743 after the Bavarian war; "Carlomannus per se in Saxoniam ambulabat in eodem anno, et cepit castrum quod dicitur Hookscoburg *perplacitum* et Theodoricum Saxonum *placitando* conquisivit." Yet the next year Theodoric is taken again, and in the Metz Annals a third time in 748.

profess constant warfare with men of other religions as part of their religious duty. Warfare seldom wholly ceased, but each particular war had its beginning and ending, and some special cause could have been given for its beginning. Charles Martel and his sons seldom sheathed their swords; but up to the anointing of Pippin, they might fairly say that all their wars were waged to keep or to win back something to which they alleged a lawful claim. Charles did not even attack the Mussulmans till the Mussulmans attacked him. The Goth or Iberian of Spain who, without any intellectual convictions, to save himself from death or tribute embraced Islam, was at once called on to help to bring Septimania and Aquitania into the same fold. No such call was made on the Saxon who, with as little intellectual convictions, embraced Christianity. While in the Saxon conquest of Spain the convert to Islam remained a freeman and often became a conqueror, while those who abode in their old faith passed into bondage, it was otherwise in the Frankish conquest of Saxony. Thus the men who refused Christianity remained free at least as long as they could maintain their freedom in arms, those who accepted Christianity passed immediately into the subject state of which their conversion was the badge. The Christian Saxon had either to sit still in his own land as a subject of the Frank or to follow the Frankish leaders in warfare which in no way concerned him. No wonder then that the unwilling converts of Islam for the most part clave to their new faith, while the unwilling converts to Christianity for the most part fell away. Saxony had to be conquered and converted over and over again. The work of Karlmann this time seems not to have gone far from the Frankish frontier. He conquered and converted just enough to make the spirit of resistance yet stronger. The Saxons were again in arms against the Franks the next time that a good chance offered itself[1].

[1] See below, A.D. 748, p. 80.

Meanwhile there was something to do in the south also. The date (744, 745, or 746) of the next Frankish expedition into Aquitaine is as hard to fix as that of the expedition into Saxony, and the two stories have a strange likeness. The brothers crossed the Loire with a Frankish army; but there seems to have been no fighting; Duke Hunold met the enemy and submitted; he gave gifts and swore oaths and gave hostages[1]. That is, he remained Duke of Aquitaine, but Aquitaine was acknowledged to be a dependency of the Frankish power, perhaps in decent form of the Frankish king, till the next time which might seem favourable for asserting its independence. In all these wars our sympathies cannot fail to lie with the prince and people who are asserting the freedom of their own land; yet we can hardly blame those who asserted an ancient supremacy, especially in the case of a land like Aquitaine which had once been as much a part of the immediate Frankish territory as Austria or Neustria. This is in short the standing difficulty of history, to learn to throw ourselves into the position of both sides, wherever one side is not distinctly and unanswerably in the wrong. Every man who reads the story may feel sure that, if he had been in Hunold's place, he

[1] The Aquitanian march is left out in the Annales Laurissenses and by Einhard. Among the smaller annals it appears in three of those in Pertz, i. 26, 27. More fully in the Continuator, 114, where the brothers go to the Loire "provocato [provocati ?] cothurno Wasconorum." "Quod videntes Wascones præoccupaverunt, pacem petentes et voluntatem Pippini in omnibus exsequentes"—Pippin was the immediate representative of Frankish power on that side, as Karlmann was on the other—"muneratum eum a finibus suis ut sederet precibus obtinuerunt." This is in 745. Metz puts it in 744, to connect it with the raid on Chartres. Pippin and Karlmann were "non immemores injuriarum Hunaldi, perfidi ducis et vastationis quam ille in Baioriam dimicantibus perpetravit." They cross the Loire and "Videns Hunaldus quod eis resistere non valeret, omnem voluntatem eorum se facere sacramentis et obsidibus datis spopondit, ipsumque cum omnibus quæ habebat invictorum principum servilia se mancipavit." Richter (212) places it in 746: this follows the shorter annals.

would have done as Hunold did, and that, if he had been in Pippin's place, he would have done as Pippin did. The next act of Hunold is of another kind. As we read the story in one Frankish version, Hunold, from what motive we are not told, persuaded his brother Hatto by false oaths to come to him; then he put out his eyes, and kept him in prison[1]. Presently, smitten, we are to suppose by remorse, he left his duchy to his son Waifar, and betook himself to spend the rest of his days as a shaven monk in the isle of Rhé[2]. When we remember that Hunold and Hatto had not always agreed in past times[3], this story seems simple enough. A fresh quarrel arises; Hunold takes this frightful vengeance, and presently repents of the deed. It seems hardly needful to suppose that Hunold, thinking his son Waifar better fitted to withstand the Franks than himself, formed an elaborate plan of withdrawing from the world and leaving his dominions to his son. Then, we are to believe, before he finally withdrew, in order to make his son's position safe, he put out the eyes of his brother[4].

The great war between Pippin and Waifar did not begin till fourteen years later. But much had at this very time to be done on that side of the Frankish kingdom which Karlmann had in keeping. The days of the dominion of that devout and warlike prince were drawing to an end. We seem to see that in him devotion came first and warfare second.

[1] Ann. Mett. 744; "Eodem anno Hunaldus Dux germanum suum nomine Hattonem, per falsa sacramenta decipiens de Pictavis ad se venire jussit cui statim oculos eruit, et sub custodia retrusit."

[2] Ib.; "Sed non post multos dies Hunaldus, corona capitis deposita et monachi voto promisso in monasterium, quod Radis insula situm est, intravit filiumque suum Wafarium in principatu reliquit." This is very like the story of Lagman King of Man and his brother Harold, N. C. ii. 652, only the Scandinavian prince does not become a monk, but more characteristically goes on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, like Swegen son of Godwine.

[3] See the annals in Pertz (i. 26, 27).

[4] See at length in Fauriel, iii. 180–182.

He could fight when fighting was needed; but the object nearest to his heart was clearly the advancement of the faith in heathen lands, the reformation of the Church in the lands which had long been Christian. He is ever called off from an ecclesiastical synod to the field of battle. If our chronology (745) is right[1], his Saxon campaign, or rather journey, which bore so much the character of a missionary enterprise, immediately followed the first general synod of the Frankish Church under the presidency of Boniface. Meanwhile Pippin marched into Alamannia, where Duke Theodbald again proclaimed his independence (745). The rebel was overthrown, and the succession of the Alamannian dukes came to an end; the land became part of the immediate Frankish territory, under the usual administration of counts[2]. The next year the same land was again in revolt or suspected of being on the point of it. It is not very easy to bring all this into harmony of time. Karlmann is spoken of as entering the land in great wrath, and as slaying many rebels, some say many thousands of them, with the sword[3]. This sounds more like a massacre than a battle; and another more detailed account seems to show in what way such a massacre was made possible. Karlmann entered Alamannia and summoned the forces of the land to an assembly, an armed Gemót, at Canstadt in the present Würtemberg. A wonder followed; without coming to blows, one army,

[1] So Richter, 210-211.

[2] The suppression of the Duchy is marked by the Continuator, 113; "Per idem tempus [while Karlomann was in Saxony] rebellante Theudebaldo, filio Godfredi ducis, Pippinus cum virtute exercitus sui ab obsidione Alpium turpiter expulit fugientem; *revocatoque sibi ejusdem loci ducatu*, victor ad propria remeavit." On the Counts see Hahn, 85, note 4.

[3] Cont. Fred. 115 (746); "Dum Alamanni contra Carlomannum eorum fidem fefelissent, ipse cum magno furore cum exercitu in eorum patriam peraccessit, et plurimos eorum, qui contra ipsum rebelles existebant, gladio trucidavit." In the Annales Petaviani to the entry "Karolomannus intravit Alamanniam," one manuscript adds "ubi fertur, quod multa hominum milia ceciderit."

that doubtless of the Franks, surrounded and made prisoners of another, that of the Alamans[1]. The slaughter of all or many was possible. We are told that Karlmann, in his mercy, punished, according to the deserts of each, all those of the leading men of the Alamans who had gone with Theodbald to the help of Odilo of Bavaria against the Franks[2]. Here are vague words which might seem meant to cover a good deal. We may dismiss the notion of a massacre of the whole Alamannian army, and the many thousands who are said to have been slaughtered are most likely as mythical as such figures commonly are in all times and places. But the story looks as if, while Karlmann mercifully kept back his hands from slaying the whole of the guilty people, yet, while punishing the more prominent among them according to their deserts, enough were held to have deserved death at least to give occasion for exaggerated reports. In any case the soul of Karlmann was almost at once smitten with remorse and self-abasement, remorse and self-abasement far deeper than men used to warfare are apt to feel for any amount of slaughter done in fair and open battle.

For kings and other leaders of men to come down from their seats of power, to leave the world, its toils and its honours behind them, and to withdraw for pious meditation to the threshold of the Apostles, had become a feature of the times. On that errand two kings of the West-Saxons, Ceadwalla and Ine, had already gone from our own island, and the tale of Ceadwalla, otherwise Peter, with the inscription on his grave, have found for themselves a place in

[1] This comes from the Metz Annals, 746; "Karlomannus cum vidisset Alamannorum infidelitatem, cum exercitu fines eorum irrupit, et placitum instituit in loco qui dicitur Condistat. Ibique conjunctus est exercitus Francorum et Alamannorum. Fuitque ibi magnum miraculum, quod unus exercitus alium comprehendit atque ligavit absque ullo discrimine belli."

[2] Ib.; "Ipsos vero, qui principes fuerunt cum Teobaldo in solatio Odilonis contra invictos principes Pippinum et Karlomannum, comprehendit et misericorditer secundum singulorum merita correxit."

the pages of the historian of the Lombards[1]. Some went yet a step further, and bowed their necks to the yoke of the monastic profession. Such, as we have just seen, was the penitence of the Aquitanian duke Hunold[2], though he thought it enough to abide as a monk in the land where he had ruled as a prince. But a very little after this time, Ratchis, King of the Lombards, successor of the mighty Liudprand, nearer to the threshold of the Apostles, chose the most venerated spot of all as the scene of a humiliation which does not seem to have been called for by any such crime as that which weighed down the soul of Hunold[3]. So now it was with Karlmann. His bloody work in Alamannia lay heavy on his soul[4]. The little that we hear of him personally seems to set him before us as a man of a stern temper, sterner, it would seem, than his brother, but open beyond most men to religious impressions, a man who could both do and bear hard things, one who, if he ever sinned deeply, would repent no less deeply. The very year of his Alamannian expedition (746) he formed his purpose, and revealed it to his brother[5]. But it was not till the next year that it was carried out. Arrangements had to be made, and we should be well pleased to know the nature of some of them. Karlmann had sons;

[1] The story of Ceadwalla—"Cedoal rex Anglorum Saxonum"—is given by Paul the Deacon. vi. 15, and in c. 37 of the same book he remarks on the number of English of all kinds who came to Rome "divini amoris instinctu."

[2] See above, p. 74.

[3] Pauli Continuatio Cassinensis, iii. He couples the professions of Karlmann and Ratchis.

[4] This comes out in the Annales Petaviani, 746, which supply so much in their short statements; "Karolomannus intravit Alamanniam, ubi fertur quod multa hominum millia ceciderit. Unde compunctus regnum reliquit et monasterium in monte Casino situm adiit."

[5] Ann. Laur. 745; "Tunc Carlomannus confessus est Pippino germano suo quod voluisset sæculum relinquere; et in eodem anno nullum fecit exercitum, sed præparaverunt se uterque, Carlomannus ad iter suum, et Pippinus quomodo germanum suum honorifice direxisset cum muneribus."

of their mother we know even less than we know of Karlmann's own mother; we have not even the means of guessing at her name[1]. Of one son, Drogo, the name has been preserved, in a letter of Boniface, almost more enigmatical than his notice of Grifo[2]. We are told that he commended his son to his brother along with his dominions[3]. This has been understood as meaning that he designed his son, perhaps when he had reached a riper age, for a share in the government[4]. It is certain that he never held it; it is by no means clear that his father designed him for it; what is far clearer is that, by Karlmann's abdication, Pippin was, as one of our best authorities for the time says, whatever might be his exact meaning, strengthened in the kingdom[5].

The monastic profession of a great ruler, received into the monastic fold by the Pope himself, was a striking event, which could not fail to make a deep impression at the time, which could hardly fail to become a subject of legend.

§ 6. *The First Anointing of Pippin.*

747–751.

Pippin, now left alone in the rule of the Frankish dominions, had, as his first work, to strive to keep his sole possession, just as he and Karlmann had had a few years before to strive to keep their joint possession. And one

[1] She appears once, without a name, as doing honour to the relics of Saint Hubert. See Hahn, p. 56.

[2] Jaffé, Mon. Mog. 184. Boniface, in 747, writes to a certain Andhun; "Indica nobis aliquid de episcopo nostro, an ad synodum ducis occidentalium provinciarum perrexisset, an ad filium Carlomanni." The "dux occidentalium provinciarum" is of course Pippin, and Drogo seems to be put in some kind of opposition to him. See Hahn, 88.

[3] Cont. Fred. 116; "Regnum una cum filio suo Drogone manibus germani sui committens."

[4] Hahn, 88.

[5] Cont. Fred. u. s.; "Qua successione Pippinus roboratur in regnum."

of the dangers came from the same quarter as before. Karlmann had, wisely as the event showed, kept his half-brother Grifo in prison as long as he had any voice in worldly affairs. As soon as Karlmann was gone, Pippin, the milder man of the two, set Grifo free. Grifo was older now than he had been at the death of his father; he was no longer the puppet of his mother, of whom we hear no more; he was quite able to act for himself, and he knew how to wound his brother's dominion in the weakest point. He had, it would seem, not only been released from his bonds; he had been treated with all brotherly regard; he had been granted large estates and the rank and office of count[1]. But he was not satisfied; he still could not bear to live under the authority of his brother[2]. He still had a party among the Franks[3]; but he did not this time strengthen himself in his own possessions, wherever they lay; he did not again seize Laon or any other fortress within the immediate Frankish territory; he betook himself to the ever-discontented lands on the borders of that territory. It is added, as an aggravation of his crime, that he chose for his secession the very moment when Pippin was busy holding an ecclesiastical synod, reforming the Church and doing justice to the poor, the widows, and the orphans. The chronology may be a little doubtful, as the flight of Grifo seems to have taken place later in

[1] It seems to be only the Metz Annals, 747, which directly record the setting free of Grifo by Pippin seemingly with somewhat of contrast between Pippin and Karlmann; "Pippinus omnium Francorum generaliter princeps, misericordia motus, fratrem suum Gripponem de custodia, in qua eum germanus suus Karlomannus recluserat, liberavit, et ipsum fraterna dilectione honoratum in palatio suo habuit, deditque illi comitatus et fiscos plurimos." The Metz therefore simply fills up a blank.

[2] The Annales Laurissenses say simply that Grifo "fugivit." Einhard gives his reason; "Pippino fratri suo subjectus esse nolens, quamquam sub illo honorifice viveret."

[3] He goes, according to Einhard, "collecta manu," and in the next year we hear of the "copiæ quæ de Francia ad eum confluebant."

the year than the usual time of assemblies[1]. He first, with a considerable following of Franks, tried the Saxons. It is curious to read the account of the Saxon war that followed in one writer who, for whatever reason, thought fit not to mention Grifo at all, and who tells us how the Saxons no longer kept to Pippin the faith which they had plighted to Karlmann[2]. Pippin set forth to chastise his rebel brother and his allies. He led his army through Thuringia, and was there strengthened by allies of his own whose description in our accounts seems to have a grander sound than the reality. We hear of the kings of the Wends and Frisians[3], of the dukes of the fierce nation of the Slaves[4], coming to the help of Pippin against his enemies. In these we may see the leaders and people of two districts on the Thuringian and Saxon border, known as the Frisono-feld and Winidon-gau. It was indeed a region where various tribes and nations come across one another. As the first district of Saxony which Pippin entered was that whose people were known as the North Swabians, the remnant of those Swabians who had settled themselves in the Saxon lands in the long past days

[1] The Metz writer, who places the flight of Grifo in 748, seems to connect it with the Synod of Düren. He describes his acts and adds, "Grippo vero, quem de custodia fraterno affectu Pippinus solverat, tyrannico fastu multos sibi nobilium sociavit, et fuga lapsus, Renum transiens, in Saxoniam venit." This writer is specially emphatic on Grifo's following; "plurimi juvenes ex nobili genere Francorum, inconstantia ducti proprium dominum relinquentes."

[2] The flight to the Saxons comes in most of the Annals. Our fullest accounts are in the Metz Annals and of the Continuator of Fredegar, who leaves out Grifo and tells us how "Saxones more consueto, fidem quam germano suo promiserant mentiri conati sunt. Qua de causa adunato exercitu, eos prævenire compulsus est."

[3] These names come from the Continuator, 117, "Reges Winidorum seu Frisionum"; their geography is explained by Hahn, 93, and in a special discourse, 218. I am not concerned with the migrations by which these districts may have got their names.

[4] These "duces gentis asperæ Selanorum" are found only in the Metz Annals. I hope they were not suggested by the "Reges Winidorum."

of King Sigeberht[1]. The North Swabians were brought to submission and to baptism; but Grifo was not among them. His headquarters were at Ordheim on the Ocker, to the south of the present Brunswick. When Pippin pressed to the north, he found his brother, with his Saxon allies, encamped by the river. The stream was defended by a fortification of some kind, most likely an earthwork like that with which Odilo had defended the banks of the Lech[2]. When the Frankish army drew near, the Saxons feared that their new defence would be no shelter, and took to flight by night. Grifo escaped, and Pippin passed through the land for forty days destroying the strongholds of the Saxons.

The next year we are told that Grifo began to doubt the power of the Saxons to defend him against his brother; but he seemed to see an opening for himself in the native land of his mother. Duke Odilo of Bavaria was dead. The duchy was now in possession of his widow Chiltrudis, half-sister of Grifo, whole sister of Pippin, in the name of her young son Tassilo[3]. Grifo with the Frankish force that still clave to him made a dash on Bavaria, got Chiltrudis and her child into his power, and was seemingly accepted by the Bavarians. We have again two pictures, in one of which all mention of Grifo is left out and in which the movement takes the shape of a mere Bavarian revolt against Frankish supremacy[4]. The result was much

[1] This curious bit of geography, though it comes only from Metz, has every sign of genuineness; "per Turingiam in Saxoniam veniens, fines Saxonum quos Nordosquonos vocant, cum valida manu intravit."

[2] This is again from Metz, Ann. 748; "Saxones vero cum Grippone ex alia ripa erant, ubi maximam inter se et Francos firmitatem statuerunt."

[3] This is implied in the account in Ann. Laur. followed by Einhard; "Grifo . . . in Bavariam usque pervenit, ipsum ducatum sibi subjugavit, Hiltrudem eum Tassilone conquisivit." This is explained by the words of Metz, "Quorum dux eo tempore Odilo defunctus erat, cui Tassilo filius ejus successerat. Quem de principatu Grippo abegit."

[4] Cont. Fred. 117; "Quo peracto tempore Bagvarii consilio nefandorum, iterum eorum fidem fefellerunt, et contra præfatum principem

the same in either case. Pippin entered Bavaria; his enemies withdrew beyond the Inn; he followed them; he received their submission and their oaths and hostages, and Grifo himself either submitted or was surrendered. And now Pippin did what assuredly Karlmann would not have done. He had released his brother from prison; he had enriched and promoted him; and his reward had been a Saxon and a Bavarian campaign, which he might otherwise have been spared. Yet brotherly love was so strong in him that he not only allowed Grifo to go free, but put him in a place of still higher trust than before. Bavaria he restored to his young nephew Tassilo, still under the guardianship of his mother. On Grifo he bestowed a vast possession in the heart of the Frankish dominions, where he perhaps deemed that he might be less dangerous. Twelve counties, with a noble city as their capital, became what we may call the appanage of the twice-pardoned rebel. The seat of Grifo's power was now fixed on the hill of Le Mans, within the Roman walls which girded the elder minster of Saint Julian and the long street of the Old Rome[1]. But even this splendid gift could not win over Grifo, while he still had a superior in his brother. He threw up his twelve counties, and betook himself to Duke Waifar in Aquitaine. That prince was not yet an open enemy of the Frankish overlord; but he was doubtless ready to welcome any who were likely to help him in any future strife with the holders of a superiority which was hateful to every feeling of himself and his people.

As far as we can see, if Grifo could have kept quiet, the whole Frankish dominions and their neighbour-lands would have kept quiet also. We have gone through two years

eorum fidem mentiti sunt." So he tells the whole story without a word of Grifo.

[1] Ann. Laur. 748; "Grifonem vero partibus Niustriæ misit, et dedit ei 12 comitatos." The special mention of "Cinomannica urbs" comes from Metz.

of strife which seems to have been wholly strife of Grifo's making. The Saxons and Bavarians were doubtless glad of his coming, as giving an excuse and an opportunity for a rising, but it was his coming which actually caused them to rise. They were now quelled for a season; Waifar, we must suppose, was not ready for immediate action; so it is now that we come to the unusual entry of two years of perfect peace. For those two years the Frankish realm has no recorded history (749–750). It has no history at least of the kind which makes up most of the history of those ages. The Marchfield must have been gathered; King Childeric must have taken his place among his people; but whatever words the Mayor of his palace put into his mouth, he dictated no order for the Frankish host to march to battle with any enemy. Nor do the next events that we have to record take the shape of wars and fightings. A great change, we might say, a great revolution takes place; but it takes place without shedding a drop of blood. We have come to that epoch in Frankish history when King Childeric and his house were to pass away for ever, and when Pippin, mayor, duke, prince, consul, exarch, was to exchange all these titles for a higher one.

We must not think that the years during which the annals have nothing to tell us were really years in which nothing happened. The Duke and Prince of the Franks, Mayor of the Palace under the glorious King his master, might indeed, as far as wars and fightings were concerned, rest for a season in quiet possession of the dominion which he had won. But the English-born apostle of Germany still had his hands full in his own special line of duty; nor could the Duke and Prince of the Franks himself afford to be wholly idle. The sword of the warrior was for a moment laid aside; if no host needed to be called forth, if war needed to be declared against no man, yet measures had to be taken for the peace of the Frankish

realm, for the order of the Frankish Church. Boniface was writing and receiving letters from Pope Zachary about his newly founded house of Fulda[1], about his newly granted powers as Metropolitan of Mainz[2], letters in which he speaks with tenderness of the help which Karlmann, sometime Prince, had given to his work[3]. Pippin too was signing deeds on behalf of his favourite monasteries. In the eighth year of the most glorious King Childeric (749), he sets forth how to him, Pippin, Mayor of the Palace, the Lord had given the care of reigning, how the great men of the realm, apostolic fathers, dukes, and counts, had gathered around him in what, by a rather daring stretch, he calls his palace of Attigny, where he sat with them to judge between Fulrad, Abbot of his beloved Saint Denis, and a rival prelate, as he sits again in the next year to defend the rights of the same church against a hostile abbess[4]. To Saint Wandrille too he makes a grant of precious privileges, which the historian of that house speaks of as a grant of Pippin the glorious King, though its date shows that it was still the simple Mayor who granted it[5].

[1] See the letters of Boniface and Zachary, Jaffé, Mon. Mog. 218, 229.

[2] Ib. 227.

[3] Ib. 219. Boniface says that he has been able to found his monastery of Fulda "per viros religiosos et deum timentes, maxime Carlmannum quondam principem Francorum."

[4] See the charter in Pardessus, ii. 414. I have referred to some of its formulæ already. See above, p. 49. Pippin is made to describe himself in a somewhat kingly style; "Cum nos in Dei nomine una cum optimatibus vel pontificibus apostolicis patribus seu et inlustribus viris ducibus atque comitibus Attiniaco villa, in palatio nostro, ad universorum causas audiendas vel recto judicio terminandas residere-mus." In the next charter Pippin is spoken of in the third person. "Cum resedisset inluster vir Pippinus majorem domus Attiniaco in palacio publico." "Publicus," I need hardly say, means royal. Does Pippin mean in the former document to claim the palace where he was Mayor as his own or had the King and the Mayor each a palace at Attigny?

[5] Gest. Abb. Font. 14 (Pertz, ii. 289). The grant is made by "gloriosus rex Pippinus"; the gift itself is "privilegium quoddam sacræ suæ auctoritatis." But the date is "anno dominicæ incarna-

And besides these more private acts, there must have been some more public decrees which King Childeric's Mayor had to teach his sovereign to utter in the Marchfield of the peaceful year (750) which ended the first half of the eighth century. It was still the duty of the King when he met his people to receive the envoys of foreign powers and to make answers to them with all kingly state. It may therefore be that he gave some formal assent when envoys were sent from his realm to foreign powers, in the name of the Frankish king and nation. But during the days of peace one matter of great moment was thought over, one embassy was sent to confer on that matter in another land, on the sending of which King Childeric could hardly have been even formally consulted, and the answer to which must have startled even the listless soul of the successor of Chlodowig. For the hour had come for the last formal step, the thought of which must often have passed across men's minds, though it may never have been put into a formal shape since the second Pippin rose to power. It had been ruled that the Frankish realm needed a successor of Chlodowig as its head. The question was now raised, and it had to be settled, whether the needful successor of Chlodowig need be the lineal heir of Chlodowig. Men had to make up their minds whether, now that the substance of power had passed away from the house of Chlodowig to the house of Arnulf and Pippin, the mere name and title ought not to follow the substance. How that question was debated, where, by whom, or in what form, we are not told; but we are told that, in some way or other, the Frankish nation came to the conclusion that so to do would be for the good of the Frankish realm. But the proposed step was strange and new; it was in the nature of a case of conscience; and as a case of conscience the Frankish nation, by the mouth of its envoys, laid it

tionis 750 die 8 Idum Januariarum. Vernaria, palatio regio," which is given as the year of Pippin's first unction. There is a casual mention of an "exactor reipublicæ gentis Francorum."

before the power whose voice carried with it the highest moral weight of any voice on earth [1].

There is nothing directly to show at what moment the thought of displacing the shadow of a king who sat on the Frankish throne came, as an immediate practical question, into the mind of the man who could be called to fill it the moment it should be declared vacant. Pippin's accession to sole power by the retirement of Karlmann, the success of his arms as single ruler, the peace of the land under his rule, might all suggest more and more strongly that it was only in the fitness of things that he in whose hands was the substance of power should also receive its formal titles and honours. That Pippin wished for the name and the formal honours of kingship is likely enough; most men are well pleased with any names or formal honours which come in their way; if, as we have

[1] Most of the larger annals mention the anointing of Pippin as done by authority of Pope Zachary, "ex auctoritate" or the like. The Annales Laurissenses, 719, give the best account, which is followed by Einhard. Burhland and Folred are sent to Zachary, "interrogando de regibus in Francia qui illis temporibus non habentes regalem potestatem si bene fuisset an non. Et Zacharias papa mandavit Pippino ut melius esset illum regem vocari qui potestatem haberet, quam illum qui sine regali potestate manebat, *ut non conturbaretur ordo*, per auctoritatem apostolicam jussit Pippinum regem fieri." One sees the general, but not the exact meaning of the words in italics. The Annales Laur. Minores (750) take the opportunity to describe the whole position of the last Merwings; "Mittit Pippinus legatos Romam ad Zachariam papam, ut interrogarent de regibus Francorum . . . Zacharias igitur papa secundum auctoritatem apostolicam ad interrogationem eorum respondit, melius atque utilius sibi videri, ut ille rex nominaretur et esset, qui potestatem in regno habebat, quam ille qui falso rex appellabatur." The account goes on, "Mandavit itaque præfatus pontifex *regi* et populo Francorum." (Was there really a counsel of perfection given to Hilderic to consent to his own deposition?) This account makes as much as it can of the Pope; on the other hand, the Continuator of Fredegar, the best authority when he speaks at all, while not leaving out the Pope enlarges on the popular side of the act; "Una cum consilio et consensu omnium Francorum, missa relatione, a sede apostolica auctoritate percepta, præcelsus Pippinus electione totius Franciæ."

seen reason to think, Charles Martel paid no heed to names and titles, either for himself or for any other, he represented a small minority among mankind. But in Pippin's case it was assuredly not a mere longing after titles and gewgaws. What was sought for was that facts should be looked in the face, and that names and forms should be adapted to the facts. It was sought to put aside a meaningless survival, the absurdity of which men could have endured only through long habit, and to set a living reality in its place. The taking of the kingly title by the Austrasian Mayor was like the putting on of kingly state and kingly ornaments by the Illyrian Emperor. Neither Diocletian nor Pippin were men to care more for such things than all mankind, save a few like Charles Martel, naturally cares. Titles and ornaments were not the objects, but the instruments of their policy. Diocletian felt that he was really the master of an Empire and not the magistrate of a commonwealth, and he set forth the fact in outward guise to be seen of all men. Pippin, in the like sort, felt that the time had come when it was due both to himself and to the Frankish nation to put an end to a mere pretence, and to make the name of power go along with the substance. It has been well said that a vizier ruling in the name of a nominal king might be endured among the despotisms of the East, but that it was utterly inconsistent with the first principles of Teutonic kingship. It might be added that it was no less inconsistent with the first principles of Imperial rule at Rome, Old or New. Both Teutonic and Roman sovereignty implied personal action on the part of the ruler. The Teutonic king, the embodiment, as his name speaks, of the national being, the head and representative of his people[1], was bound to be, himself in his own person, and not by the voice or the hand of another, their judge in peace and their leader in war. A Roman Emperor—

[1] See Norman Conquest, i. 593.

and a prince who reigned over the Roman lands of Gaul was in some sort the successor of Emperors—who had united in his own person all the great magistracies of the commonwealth, to whom the Roman people was held to have transferred, by a solemn act, all its rights and powers[1], was, if possible, even more bound to personal action than the Teutonic king. Holding his power, in legal theory at least, by no right of birth, but by a commission special and personal to itself, he was, if unable or unwilling to discharge in his own person the manifold duties entrusted to him, yet more manifestly out of place than a king whose personal unfitness might be in some measure veiled by the reverence due to kingly and even divine descent. The Franks had carried further than any other Teutonic people that reverence for the kingly kin which among no Teutonic people was wholly lacking. They had, while the house of the Merwings was still far other than it had come to be in the days of the last Childeric, gone far beyond any rule of choosing the king from the kingly house, far beyond any rule of hereditary succession which gives the kingship of the people, irrespective of their choice, to some particular member of the kingly house. They had accepted the doctrine that every member of the kingly house was by birth a king and entitled to some share in the exercise of kingly power. The outcome of all this had been the division of the kingdom, the degradation of the kings, beyond the example of any other people. And, while the kingly house was sinking into nothingness, while the kings, kings only by virtue of their birth, were falling lower and lower in each generation, a new house had arisen by their side, a house of leaders of men, called to rule because they were worthy to rule, who, without bearing the name of kings, had for seventy years done all that kings were meant to do.

[1] I refer of course to the famous Lex Regia of the lawyers, none the less valuable as the setting forth of a theory because there was no Lex Regia.

There is no more striking difference in all history than the contrast between the Merwings and the Karlings, between the Frankish dominion under the one house and under the other. The change from the one to the other, a change which of course begins when the power of the Austrasian house is fully established under the second Pippin, seems like a change of centuries. The whole Merowingian dynasty is a kind of survival. In its latest days of shadowy kingship it of course becomes so in an obvious sense; but there is a sense in which it was so from the beginning. The kingship of the Merwings seems throughout something out of place in the world into which it had thrust itself, in a way in which the kingship of other reigning Teutonic houses was not out of place. It kept an old-world character about it, in no way changed by either the Roman or the Christian influences which were brought to bear upon everything around it. Chlotochar and Chilperic were baptized Christians; they ruled over a Roman people; Chilperic, lawyer, poet, and divine, made no small profession of Roman learning. But their kingship is still the old untouched heathen kingship; it seems to keep all that is bad in the elder state of things, heightened perhaps a little in its badness by contact with the new. The Merwing seems another kind of creature from the Gothic, the English, or even the Lombard king. One thing is that the doctrine of the kingliness of the whole kin, the right of every Merwing to be a king, really destroyed the best feature of the old Teutonic kingship. Through the endless divisions and civil wars which were the necessary consequence of this doctrine, the Merowingian king had ceased to be the leader of a people; he had sunk to be the owner of part of a divided family estate, of as large a part of it as he could get for himself by despoiling or murdering his brothers or nephews. As Chlodowig began, so his descendants went on. Surely never did any kingly house, or any house, sink, as a house, into such utter moral degradation of every kind. The grotesque feebleness of

the later generations is the fitting punishment of the active wickedness of the earlier generations. We have gone through their story; we know their deeds and their ways; good King Guntchramn is perhaps the most instructive commentary on his whole family; we feel that among Merwings he really deserved his epithet, but that he would have won it anywhere else but among Merwings. Never was there such a record of crime and vice and lawlessness of every kind as that of the Merowingian reigns; it is, as far as the kings are concerned, a story of men given up to purely personal objects, to the pursuit of their own power, their own pleasure; set to be rulers of men, they show not the slightest sign of any feeling of public duty. Of the line of Arnulf and Pippin we have another tale to tell. Sprung of the blood of saints and heroes, the line of the Karlings—one can hardly keep from giving them the name before the time—never became altogether unworthy of its origin. This last is a most important point to insist on, because popular belief conceives the Karlings to have ended in a whole series of incapable kings like the last Merwings[1]. No belief ever was further from the truth. The later Karlings were undoubtedly, as a house, a falling off from the earlier; after the line had reached its highest point, it sank; but it sank only to the level of other kingly houses; it never, like the Merwings, sank below that level. As the political position of the later Karlings was wholly unlike that of the later Merwings, so was their personal character wholly unlike theirs. Down to the end in the later years of the tenth century, if the Karolingian stock put forth some weak shoots, it also put forth some very vigorous ones. But the early generations of the house, from the saint at Metz to the Emperor at Aachen, form a mighty line indeed. We have seen their acts; they are the acts of men who have their faults like other men, but in

[1] Even Lord Macaulay fell into this common mistake. The other side was strongly put out by Sir Francis Palgrave in his England and Normandy.

whom we can see, what we cannot see in any stage of the earlier kingly house, a distinct sense of public duty. We see in them men who, finding themselves set in a great place—believing that, in their own words, the Lord has given them the care of reigning—feel that they must act as becomes the place in which they are set, that they must do their duty in that state of life to which God had called them. They had restored the Frankish power to its former greatness; they had judged in peace; they had led in war; they had been the true shepherds of the people, while the once kingly house had brought on itself the woe denounced on the shepherd that leaveth the flock[1]. Above all, they had done that great duty of Christian rulers which the Merwings had ever left undone; sprung of a stock of saints, they had been the aiders and abettors of the saints in bringing the whole Frankish realm and its dependencies under the obedience of the faith. Leaders and judges of the nation, nursing-fathers of the Church, champions of Christendom and Europe, far more truly the Church's eldest sons than the first Merwing baptized at Rheims, the house of Arnulf and the Pippins, the house of Charles the Hammer, stood forth as the model of a kingly house alongside of the children of the gods who had passed away, who for so many generations had done nought to call forth either love on the part of their people or fear on the part of their enemies. The time was come for the shadow to give way to the substance, for a line of puppets to give way to a line of warriors and lawgivers. Mayor, Duke, Prince, the leader of the Franks, already in deed, if not in name,

ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής,

was ready to claim the place and title of which his deeds and the deeds of his fathers had made him worthy.

The house of Arnulf and Pippin had indeed done much towards changing the face of the world. They were far

[1] See the warning of the earlier Zacharias, xi. 17.

from being the only agents, but they had been very active agents in the change which makes the striking difference between the age of the Karlings and the age of the Merwings. The Karolingian age is in truth a very modern period; it has far more in common with quite late times than it has with the times which immediately followed it. Europe was presently again to split up into a system of small states; but the age of the Karlings was an age of great powers, just like our own age. When the second Pippin fully established the Austrasian superiority in the Frankish realm, the world of our history was pretty well made up of the Empire, the Gothic, Lombard, and Frankish kingdoms, and the terrible Saracen power which threatened all, the power which in the days between the second Pippin and the third, had swept away the Gothic power in Spain and Septimania and which had been beaten back from Aquitaine and *Francia* by the hammer of Charles. Perhaps to our list we ought to add the Bulgarian kingdom against which the mighty Emperors of this time had to wage as hard a strife in Europe as they had to wage against the Saracen in Asia. Alongside of these great powers we can hardly say that there are any smaller ones, except those states in Italy, Gaul, and Germany, such as Beneventum, Spoleto, Aquitaine, Bavaria, which stood in some relation of dependence to their greater neighbours. We ourselves still remain in our island world, our *alter orbis*, still split up into many kingdoms, still making our way against the older folk of the land, having our own history, our own national growth, but rarely influencing other lands, rarely influenced by them. We seldom so much as took a wife from the mainland or sent over a daughter thither. The Scandinavian lands, before long to send forth conquerors and settlers to every coast, as yet abide more thoroughly in the background than ourselves. Roman, Goth, Frank, Lombard, were the great powers of Christendom, and of these the Frank was fast placing himself on a level with the Roman. The Austrasian Mayor was as clearly the mightiest

ruler of the West as the Emperor himself was in the East. In an age like this international dealings are on a large scale, quite unlike the state of things in a later age, when we have to speak of Normandy, Anjou, and Flanders, as powers of at least equal strength, if of lesser dignity, with the kingdom which still represented the Western Franks. The warfare which Charles waged to defend, not only Gaul but Christendom, the diplomacy which Pippin carried on with the Roman Bishop and the Roman Emperor, are events on an œcumenical scale, events which influenced all later history. And the men of the time are men on the same scale as the events; Emperors, Popes, Mayors, Kings, of the Lombards, and presently Kings of the Franks too, are men who have a great part to play, and who know how to play it. They seem far more like the men of later times than the men of either an earlier or a later time; we better enter into their thoughts and their policy than we do into those either of a Merwing King or of an early King of the House of Paris. And the Austrasian Mayors had distinctly played no small part in giving—or keeping for—their age the character of which we so speak. It was they who raised the divided and degenerate realm of the Merwings into the mighty power which was now keeping its short sabbath under the peaceful rule of the third Pippin. Already had the message of Gregory to Charles pointed to the Frankish kingdom as in fact, if not in name, an Empire of the West, to which the elder Rome might be willing to transfer her allegiance from the Emperor who had his seat in the younger. In that generation that thought was premature; but it was to become more than a thought before the century was out. And it was no small step to that accomplishment when the son of the Mayor, the father of the Emperor, first thought of claiming the royal title for himself.

And among these wider aspects of the case there is another, smaller but at the time very practical, which must not be forgotten. It was not simply that the Karling

was more worthy to reign than the Merwing; it was not simply that it was an anomaly and an absurdity that the name and badges of kingship should be held by one man while the real power was exercised by another; besides all this, as long as the name and the thing were kept apart, there was a real and immediate danger. That an able and vigorous Merwing should arise was most unlikely; but such a thing might happen, and, if it did, there would be, to say the least, differences hard to settle between the vigorous Merwing and the probably still more vigorous Karling. Or, what was far more likely, the King's name might be made use of, even within the Frankish kingdom, and still more likely within the dependent states, by some prince or some party who wished for a decent pretext for throwing off the authority of the Mayor. If the change of dynasty fell in with the personal interests of Pippin and his house, it fell in no less with the manifest public interests of the Frankish state.

The Frankish nation thus made up its mind to change the line of its kings. We should like to know whether the wish for the change was equally strong in every part of the Frankish dominions. The Mayors of the house of Arnulf had finally risen to power as heads of one part of the Frankish nation in opposition to another part. Austrasian Pippin was as distinctly a German conqueror of the Roman lands as Salian Chlodowig. And what the second Pippin had done, the first Charles had to do again. Neustria and Burgundy were conquered lands. But they did not long remain so. When they had once become heads of the whole Frankish nation, the Austrasian Mayors ceased, as far as we can see, to favour one part of their dominions at the expense of another. The warfare of Charles, calling the Franks of every corner of *Francia* to do battle in the cause of all *Francia* and of more than all *Francia*, must have done much to bind together all the bearers of the Frankish name, all the immediate

subjects of the Frankish crown. Austria and Neustria alike had sent their sons to fight for Christendom. They, and men of other nations with them, had stood side by side, under the wide style of "Europeans," to beat back the attacks of Africa and Asia. Pippin had made himself no less at home in Neustria than in Austria. The chosen object of his devotion and bounty was the great abbey of Saint Denis, and the friend of the abbey of Saint Denis was the friend of the city of Paris[1]. Under Pippin Paris seems to have had, what it lost again under his son, one of those many chances of headship which had been so often dangled before its eyes from the days of Julian onwards. We shall soon see that in the greatest act of his life Pippin showed a special regard to the Neustrian lands. The men of those lands were not likely to have opposed an act which was accomplished among themselves.

The change of the kingly houses was therefore to be made; but how? Certainly not in any hasty or violent fashion; that would have been altogether unlike Pippin's temper and most unsuited to Pippin's policy. The Franks had long ago boasted that they did not, like the Goths, daily depose and murder their kings[2]. The change that was to be made must be made openly and solemnly, and with the highest sanction that could be had. In earlier days the voice of the Frankish nation, the counsel of the elders, the shout and the clash of weapons of the armed people on their Marchfield, might have been deemed law enough for any change. The kingship of the Merwings, a pure survival of the Teutonic kingship of heathen times, was a salt which, through the change of religion, had lost its heathen savour, and which had never been sweetened

[1] See the charter quoted in Appendix, Note 4.

[2] Greg. Tur. iii. 30; "Sumpserant enim Gothi hanc detestabilem consuetudinem, ut, si quis eis de regibus non placuisset, gladio eum adpeterent et qui libuisset animo, hunc sibi statuerunt regem."

with any Christian sweetness. The Church and her ministers, as a body of men apart from the rest of the nation, had never had any part or lot in the making of Frankish kings. The king either succeeded without ceremony to his division of the family estate; or, if it was thought right to make the succession of any particular king more marked and impressive than usual, he was heaved on the shield as the chosen captain of his armed folk. The unction of the Old Law, long familiar in the inauguration of Emperors, practised of later years in the inauguration of Gothic kings, had never been poured on the head of any son of Merwing and Chlodowig; the holy oil of Rheims was the oil of baptism, not the oil of royal consecration. And, if the Franks, in the making of their kings, sought for no ecclesiastical rite, for no ecclesiastical sanction, from the Church of their own land, still less did they seek for the sanction of any power out of their own land. But things had changed since those older days; they had largely changed within living memory through the action of a single stranger. English Winfrith, changed into Roman Boniface, had, before all men, taught the Franks and all the nations of the central mainland to look in many things beyond the bounds of their own land. The power and the influence of the Roman Bishop had made vast strides, not only since the days of Chlodowig, but in the few years since the death of Pippin's father. In Chlodowig's day a Bishop of Rheims was enough to do all that could be needed in receiving the king and people of the Franks within the Christian fold, and assuredly the whole history of the Merwings contains no case in which the Frankish king or people deemed it needful to seek the approval of the Bishop of Rome for any political act. If it came into the head of Charles Martel to consult any ghostly adviser as to the case of conscience whether it was right for the Mayor of the Palace to reign without a king over or under him, he was satisfied with such counsel as he could get within the bounds of the

Frankish realm. When Gregory the Third had prayed him to come to the help of the Roman Church against the Lombard, he put him off with gifts and solemn embassies. But Pippin and Zachary were on quite other terms (747). Whatever might be the technical extent of the Pope's formal authority within the Frankish Church, he was at least consulted in all religious and moral questions as the power which could speak with most weight in all religious and moral questions. Almost at the moment of the abdication of Karlmann, Pippin had consulted Zachary on a crowd of ecclesiastical questions, and had received his answer in the shape of a letter of no small length[1]. It was a further step to consult the Roman Bishop on a matter so purely political as the change from one royal house to another. But political questions are commonly moral questions as well. It does not appear that the Prince and people of the Franks at all acknowledged any right in the Pope to a voice in the disposal of the Frankish crown. The application was made strictly as a case of conscience. Could they, without sin, make the great and, to many minds doubtless, strange change which they proposed to make? To say nothing of any wrong which the change might be held to do to Childeric and his house, if the accession of the present king had been accompanied by the swearing of any oaths to him on the part of Pippin or any other man, that of itself brought the matter within the bounds of the jurisdiction which the Church claimed over the souls of men. It is strange throughout those ages to compare the light way in which oaths were both taken and broken, with the deep importance which at other times is attached to an oath, sometimes perhaps only because it was convenient, but sometimes also because the conscience was really touched. The oddest shape of the feeling is the superstitious one which leads to the formal and literal fulfilment of an oath in some way quite alien

[1] See the letter in Mon. Car. 18. Zachary addresses Pippin simply as Major-domus.

to its real spirit[1]. We must suppose that both Pippin and many others had bound himself by oaths to Childeric. If they had taken such oaths lightly, they were at least resolved not to break them lightly.

The act which was formally to place the great Austrasian house, the house of Arnulf and the Pippins, at the head of the whole Frankish nation, was done on Neustrian ground. That so it was far less a badge of the victory won by the Eastern Franks over the Western than a sign of the union of both branches of the nation under the newly chosen dynasty. The place chosen for the act was one round which the earliest memories of Frankish dominion in Gaul gathered close and thick. The last seat of Roman power on Gaulish soil, the first seat of Frankish power since the Frank came out of his marches to take a part in the wider affairs of Gaul and Europe, was chosen for the inauguration of the new line of Frankish kings. Soissons, home of Syagrius, first home of Chlodowig, was chosen as the spot whereon to carry into act the change which the nation had decreed and which the Pontiff had ruled might be done lawfully. At Soissons the *ecclesia* of the bishops, within the walls on the left bank of the Aisne, had already begun to be overshadowed by more than one *basilica* both flanking it and fronting it. The abbey of Our Lady, the foundation of Leutrada, wife of the famous Ebroin, had risen within the walls, to be the home of a succession of abbesses of kingly and noble birth. But, greater and more ancient, beyond the walls of the city, on the further bank of the river, hard by the dwelling-place of the kings, the abbey of Saint Medard, the foundation of the first Chlotachar, had grown into the foremost holy places of the Frankish realm. Few indeed are the fragments surrounded by and embedded in modern buildings which remain to mark the site of either abbey or palace. But we can call up the minster of those days and the royal house beside,

[1] I have given some instances of this in Norman Conquest, iii. 251.

while a wide open space between the city and the house of Saint Medard was well suited for the gathering of a great assembly. In the autumn then of the year 751 the Frankish people, with the national conscience fully at ease as to the nature of its act, came together a second time by the banks of the Aisne to do what had been provisionally decreed at the meeting of the Marchfield. We would gladly have the acts of such an assembly in the minutest detail. We should specially like to know whether the dethroning of the Merovingian king was accompanied by any symbolic act. Did he come in usual form, in his wain, to be placed on the throne, to hear, among any other messages from foreign powers, the judgement of the Pope that approved of his own deposition? Did he listen to the shout of the assembly, to the clash of the weapons, which announced the vote of the nation that Childeric should be no more a king and that the mayor of his palace should take his place? Was he then, by force or by persuasion, formally removed from the throne which was no longer to be his but another's? On points like these, which would indeed give life to the story, our meagre annals tell us nothing. We know only that Childeric ceased to be king, that his long hair was shorn from his head. Such a shearing would be of necessity involved in the monastic profession to which he was destined; but are we to suppose something more, that the act which made Childeric no longer a "rex crinitus," was done in the sight of all men as the outward sign of the change which came upon him?

One king was set aside and another king had to be made. Again we have no distinct record of the ceremony. We hear nothing of any crowning strictly so called, nothing of setting the *cynehelm* on the head or the rod of rule in the hand; the orb of Empire was not for Pippin but for Pippin's son. Such ceremonies are very ancient; we should certainly have looked for them; we can hardly, in the meagreness of our narratives, venture to say that they were not gone through. But what impressed men's

minds at the time was the union of the older and the newer, we might say the heathen and the Christian, by that day certainly the Teutonic and the Roman fashion, of making a king. The Karling, like the Merwings his predecessors, was heaved on the shield beneath the canopy of heaven, amid the shouts of the armed gathering that filled the plain by the river side. That was enough to clothe the chosen King of the Franks with every right and power of Teutonic kingship. But something more was needed for the inauguration of a prince who was the nursing-father of the Church, the friend of the saints, the close ally of the spiritual head of Western Christendom. Pippin, "Rex Christianissimus," as he is so pointedly called, was further to go through a ceremony of which no Merwing had ever been thought worthy, a ceremony which was to give the new-made King another and a Christian form of sanctity instead of that elder form of sanctity which could not be transferred from the old kingly kin to a man of another stock. Pippin was no child of heathen gods; but, already the chosen of the nation, he was to become further the anointed of the Lord. The unction of the old Law, now in use for some ages in the case of the Emperors, more lately extended to the kings of that Gothic kingdom which had now passed away, was now for the first time bestowed on a Frankish king. Heaved on the shield in the open air at the hands of the Frankish folk acting as the Frankish folk, he was now to receive his anointing within the walls of the minster, at the hands of the chiefs of the Christian priesthood, with the consent and applause of the Christian flock of his realm. Within the walls of Saint Medard he was chosen and admitted to the leadership of his people in peace and war; within his walls he was found worthy to be made partaker of an ecclesiastical sacrament which in those days was held to be no mere form or symbol, but a true means of grace. And the new rite, a rite conferring character rather than office, was one in which another might share with him.

Fredegund and Brunechild had had no share—they could have no share—in the admission of their husbands to kingly power, nor were they admitted to queenly rank by any rites other than the ordinary sacrament of marriage. But in the unction of Pippin, Bertrada had a share also; as he became a Christian king, she became a Christian queen by his side. One question only remains, By whose hands was the holy oil poured on the heads of the royal pair[1]?

[1] Here the MS. ends abruptly.

III.

THE ITALIAN AND SARACEN WARS OF PIPPIN.

752–757.

THE change of dynasty was made, and the Franks had again a king to go before them. It may be, as an admiring chronicler puts it, that the fame of King Pippin's power and the fear of his valour went forth into all lands[1]. It is certain that the moment the kingly name and the kingly power were again brought together in the hands of one man, the kingdom itself began to grow. We spring, as by a sudden bound, from the generation represented by Charles Martel, its conservative warfare and defensive policy, if not to the generation represented by the far-reaching policy, the œcumenical policy and dominion of Charles the Great, yet to a time when the deeds of the father begin to make ready the path for the Imperial throne of the son. The arms and the influence of Pippin the King at once reach into the regions from which Charles Martel had purposely stood aloof, and in which Pippin the Mayor had not been called on to act. The King is now distinctly called on; he does not set forth of himself; he is sought for as a sovereign, as a mediator, a deliverer. Not bearing the Imperial name, but hallowed with the Imperial unction, the new King of the Franks is prayed on every side to act as the leader of Christendom in the Western lands.

[1] Ann. Mett. 750; "Unde rumor potentiæ ejus et timor virtutis transiit in universas terras."

Warfare with the heathen on the northern frontier, warfare which might or might not take the shape of conversion, was a necessary part of the duty of a Frankish king as such. That Pippin had to wage a Saxon campaign might almost have been taken for granted (753), even if no chronicler had recorded the fact [1]. So had his father and his brother before him; so had his son after him. The action of Pippin in other quarters shows him and the power that he wielded in lights that are wholly new. We seem to be reading records of our own time when Christians under the Mussulman yoke cry to the Christian champion to come as their deliverer. From the point of view of analogy, as one link in a chain that is long indeed, his warfare in Septimania is perhaps the most attractive side of the whole life of Pippin. More striking in his own day, more important in European history in the way of cause and effect, was the action of the new King of the Franks in Italy. It was a new thing, such as earlier times had never seen, when the Roman Bishop came in person to crave the help of the Frank, when the Roman Emperor, perhaps formally, certainly practically, resigned to the Frank the duty of defending alike the Church and the Republic in his elder capital.

§ 1. *The War in Septimania.* 752.

It is a curious commentary in the nature of our authorities, so rich, full, and trustworthy on many points, and yet so strangely piecemeal, that what we may fairly call the crusade of Pippin's day in the old Gothic lands of Gaul is wholly left out in most of the narratives of his reign.

[1] The Saxon campaign is recorded in most of the annals, with the notice of the death of Hildegar Bishop of Köln, "in castro [or 'monte'] quod dicitur Juherg." The Continuator of Fredegar describes the harrowing which reached as far as the Weser, and the Metz annalist adds that they received Christian preachers, and many of them received baptism, and further agreed to pay a tribute of 300 horses.

Yet no appeal was ever more honourable to any prince or people than when the Goth rose against his Mussulman lord and called in the Frank as his protector and sovereign. It needs an effort—perhaps it needs a special effort to those who have a personal knowledge of those lands—fully to take in that Nîmes and Narbonne and Carcassonne are among the cities which the Christian has won back again from the Mussulman invader, that they rank alongside of Palermo and Syracuse in the eleventh century, of Cordova and Seville in the thirteenth, of Athens, Belgrade, and Sofia in our own day. The work of Pippin against the Saracen, both what he did himself and what others did in his name, is of quite another kind from the work of his father. There is nothing in the Saracen warfare of Pippin, there is nothing in any part of the career of Pippin, on the same vast and impressive scale as the great fight and victory of his father. If that fight had gone otherwise, the whole future fate of the world might have been otherwise. Whether Pippin did or did not take Narbonne was not an event of the same œcumenical importance; if he had not taken it, some one else would before long. Still Charles simply defended and won back; Pippin advanced. Charles saved *Francia* and saved Christendom; Pippin enlarged them. Charles won his great battle; he drove the Saracen out of Provence; he entered the Saracen territory; he threatened Narbonne itself. But his deeds in Septimania were merely military operations to weaken a power that threatened the Frankish dominions. He in no way enlarged these dominions. He left the Saracen in possession of lands and cities far north of the Pyrenees; he left the Christians of part of Gaul under the yoke of the misbeliever. Pippin swept away all traces of Mussulman dominion in the lands, and he received the homage of Mussulman rulers within the bounds of Spain.

That the great peninsula of south-western Europe was once under Mussulman bondage is a fact familiar to all. That of the great peninsula of south-eastern Europe part

still abides in Mussulman bondage, that another part has been delivered from Mussulman bondage in our own day, are things which our own eyes have looked upon. When we go a little further to the north on either side, the facts become a little less clear. It needs an effort to take in that part of Gaul once was for a while as so large a part of Spain was for a much longer while, that the more part of Hungary was for a while as no small part of Romania is still. The Turk ruled over a larger territory in Hungary than the Saracen ever ruled over in Gaul, and he ruled it for a longer time. It is therefore not quite so hard to conceive Budapest Turkish as to conceive Narbonne Saracen. Yet the Saracen at Narbonne, the Turk at Budapest, have something yet more strange about them than the Saracen at Cordova and the Turk at Constantinople. The Saracen occupation of Septimania was short, yet there was time enough for more than one generation of Mussulman masters, for more than one generation of Christian bondmen, to grow up. That there are few material monuments of the Saracen left in Septimania is largely to be accounted for by the early date both of his coming in and of his driving out. If we have few Saracen monuments of those times we have as few Gothic or Frankish. The amphitheatre of Arles has its outline varied by towers, which some say were built by the Saracens, which some say were built as a defence against them. Some smaller changes in the amphitheatre of Nîmes belong most likely to a later day than the Saracen. But what seems to be an authentic Saracen tower rises above the earlier Gothic, the later French, defence of Carcassonne. But there is nothing like the great remains which keep up the memory of the Saracen in Southern Spain; there is nothing like the occasional fragments of his actual work, the abiding influence of his art on later buildings which keep up his memory in Sicily. No *Cassaro* or *Calsa* proclaim at Nîmes or Beziers that the tongue of the Arab was once spoken there. Yet it is an essential part of our story, it is an essential part of the story of the world, that the

law of the Prophet was once the law of men who went in and out of the gate of Augustus at Nemausus, and who dwelled around the Square House and the baths of Diana; that the muezzin once called to prayer in the vanished mosque of Narbo Martius, doubtless on the spot where now the vast unfinished church and the palace of the departed Primates still rear themselves.

In the year then that followed the royal unction of King Pippin (752), the Christian people of Septimania, under the leadership of the Goth Ansemund, rose up against their Mussulman masters, and commended themselves to the King of the Franks. Nîmes, Maguelone, Agde, and Beziers, became Frankish territory [1]. A Frankish army, but seemingly not under the King's own command, came to the support of his new subjects. Narbonne was attacked, but in vain. For seven years the Saracen capital held out. As far as we can see, Frankish attacks on Narbonne went on; but there is no need to conceive a regular siege lasting all that time [2]. This is really all that we know; and never should we be better pleased to have some further details. Nîmes, Agde, and Beziers are the towns where Charles Martel, not many years before, had destroyed the walls, as a piece of damage done to their Saracen owners. In what state were those cities now? It is certain that the walls of Nîmes were no more altogether swept away than the amphitheatre was; the Roman gates are there to speak for themselves. Of course it was not needful for Charles' purpose to pull down every yard of wall; a wide breach here and there would be quite enough. But we do wish to know the exact state of the city at the moment. Were the walls rebuilt? And what were the exact relations between Christians and Saracens at Nîmes when the Goth

[1] These most valuable entries come as a sort of afterthought in the Moissac Annals after the Italian war, but with the proper dates. Under 752 we read, "Ansemundus Gotus Nemauso civitatem, Magdalonam, Agathen, Biterris, Pippino regi Francorum tradidit."

[2] Ib.; "Ex eo die Franci Narbonam infestant."

Ansemund could be said to hand over the city to the Frankish king? So too we wish to call up the exact state of Greek Agathê, low down by its river, with its small domestic volcano in the near distance, and, now at least, with its buildings of the volcanic stone like the tribute of Ætna at Catania or of the elder mount of fire at the Arvernian Clermont. Gaulish Biterris again, looking down on its stream, looking up at the distant mountains, are we to suppose that it had stood on its height, utterly without defence, since its harrying at the hands of Charles Martel? If so, his policy had answered well; if he had not attempted conquest himself, he had opened a path by which his son might enter without conquest. There were other towns in Gothic Gaul of which we hear nothing. At Carcassonne Charles had assuredly destroyed no walls. We are not told whether the Gothic defences served to shelter the Saracen from the Frank after Nîmes and Beziers had passed under his power. Carcassonne must have yielded, either now or when Narbonne was won back for Christendom; but that is all that we can say. The southern towns in what is now Roussillon and Cerdagne, Roscino and Helena, perhaps remained to the Saracen for the present to share the future destinies of the Spanish March.

But above all things at this stage we crave to know how matters stood in the city once so great and which has now so fallen from its greatness. There is something very striking in the language which our meagre record uses with regard to Narbonne. For seven years the city stood, perhaps the only point of Gothia still held by the Saracens. Its inhabitants, however, were not wholly Mussulman. A notice a little later shows that there were Goths within the city, seemingly left in the enjoyment of their own law, and able in the end to overcome the local Mussulmans. We need not suppose that the word Goth is used with any special reference to nationality. By the time the Gothic kingdom was overthrown, all its subjects

would count for Goths as opposed to Saracens or to Franks, just as the Romans of Neustria now passed for Franks, though in Aquitaine we have seen that they still kept the Roman name[1]. The city, with its mixed population, was the object of ceaseless Frankish attacks, of the exact nature of which we hear nothing, but which could not have amounted to a regular siege. In one year, otherwise of perfect peace, we hear of the guards that were sent to Narbonne, guards whose watch must have been kept outside the city and not within it[2]. One may easily conceive endless forays and skirmishes, endless attacks on each side to seize the supplies of the other and to cut off detached parties. All this is common to all such warfare from the days of Ilios onwards. But one point is strongly suggested by this long and desultory warfare. What were the relations of land and water at Narbonne just at this time? Ages earlier, Narbo Martius had been a haven of the sea, the Roman rival of Greek Massalia. From modern Narbonne the sea has passed away, and the loss of its haven has been the loss of its prosperity. To which state of things did the Narbona, the Saracen Arbune, of the eighth century come nearest? The tale of the seven years' warfare suggests that in the days of Pippin the sea was still open to the Saracen capital, that the Franks had no effective

[1] See above, p. 58.

[2] In the Annales Guelferbytani and Nazariani we have under 756 (perhaps 757) the entry "Franci quieverunt, excepto custodes directos ad *Arbonam*," that is of course *Nar*bonam. It is not till 759 that we read "Franci Narbonam obsident." It seems impossible to accept the story in the Metz Annals, 752, which makes Pippin go in person and unsuccessfully besiege Narbonne; "Pippinus rex exercitum auxit in Gothiam, Narbonamque civitatem, in qua adhuc Sarraceni latitabant, obsedit. Temptatis itaque plurimis argumentis, munitissimam civitatem capere non potuit. Custodia tamen ibi derelicta, cottidianis irruptionibus illos cives afflixit." He makes this state of things last three years only, but Narbonne was certainly not taken till 759, and Pippin was not there in 756. The date that he himself gives is 752. There is clearly some confusion with Pippin's seeming presence in 759.

naval force, that, under such circumstances, a strict blockade by land would have been useless, and that the Franks confined themselves to a systematic harrying and harassing, in the hopes of at last wearing out the patience of the besieged, if besieged we can call them. We shall see that in the end Narbonne was not taken by any operation of war from without. As it had held out against Charles, it held out for longer against Pippin. One longs for a glimpse of the Narbona of those days; but as usual, we have relics of earlier and relics of later times, but of the days when the Goth yielded to the Arab and the Arab to the Frank we have nothing.

In the story of the Eternal Question the winning back of Gothia from the Saracen has no mean place. And in the making of the states of modern Europe something was done by a change which, if it did not make the whole course of the Pyrenees a boundary line, at least advanced the frontier of the Frankish power to what remained the frontier of modern France far into the seventeenth century. But in the eyes of those days, the advance of the Frankish power, even the victory of Christendom over Islam, must have seemed a small matter alongside of the mighty drama of diplomacy and war in which the King of the Franks was called on to play his part in the central peninsula of Europe. To that stage we have not quite reached; but it is strange how we can find our way to it, and how every part of our story is tied together, through the adventures of the restless Grifo. We have seen that, deeming it a light thing to be lord of Le Mans and of twelve counties, he had fled to the Duke of Aquitaine to stir up strife against his brother[1]. The advance of the Frankish power in Septimania could not fail to be of deep interest to Waifar, and some dealings took place between him and the new King about this time. An attempt of the Aquitanian Duke on Septimania itself seems to belong to

[1] See above, p. 82.

a later time[1]; but we hear vaguely of demands of submission—one is tempted to say homage—which the King makes and the Duke refuses[2], and we hear more definitely of a demand made by the King for the surrender of Grifo[3]. A singular tale follows. Grifo, finding Waifar no longer able to protect him, attempts[4] to flee to Aistulf King of the Lombards. He must still have had a considerable following. Some Franks were still with him; some Aquitanians may have joined him. As he tried to make his way to the Alps, he was met in arms by two Counts of the Burgundian land, Theodo or Theodwin of Vienne, and Frederic of the land beyond Jura, the Romance-speaking Switzerland of modern days[5]. Grifo had with him a force, doubtless not such as could have met the *Heriban* of the Frankish king, but such as could strive on equal terms with such local forces as two counts could get together at a pinch. A drawn battle followed, the fierceness of the

[1] The entry in the Moissac Annals, "Waifarius, princeps Aquitaniæ, Narbonam deprædat," comes just before the commendation of the Septimanian towns by Ansemund, that is, it is really meant to come later and is coupled with the deaths of the Lombard Aistulf and of Pope Stephen.

[2] Moissac mentions this seemingly in connexion with the warfare at Narbonne, 752; "Waifarium, principem Aquitaniæ, Pippinus prosequitur, eo quod nollet se ditioni illius dare, sicut Eudo fecerat Karolo patri ejus."

[3] The demand comes from Metz, 750. Waifar "pravo consilio inito, facere contempsit."

[4] This is in the Moissac Annals, 752, which might do for any time between 752 and 759, but one is tempted to connect it with the story of Grifo. The flight of Grifo into Aquitaine is recorded by the Continuator of Fredegar and the Annales Laurisenses, as well as more fully in Metz.

[5] The best account is in the Continuator, 118; "Nuntius veniens ad præfatum regem ex partibus Burgundiæ, quod germanus ipsius regis, nomine Grifo, qui dudum in Wasconiam ad Waifarium principem confugium fecerat, a Theodone [*al.* Theudœno] comite Viennense, seu et Frederico Ultrajurano comite, dum partes Langobardiæ peteret, et insidias contra ipsum prædictum regem pararet, apud Mauriennam urbem super fluvium Arboris interfectus est. Nam et ipsi superscripti comites in eo prælio pariter interfecti sunt."

fighting in which seems to be witnessed by the deaths of all three chiefs, Theodwin, Frederic, and Grifo himself[1]. The Frankish realm clearly lost two stout and trustworthy captains; but their deaths secured the object of the war. When the news was brought to King Pippin at Bonn, on his return from the Saxon war[2], even he who had so often forgiven his wayward brother must have felt that the loss of his faithful officers was fully outweighed by the further news that his brother Grifo was dead also.

§ 2. *The Negotiations with Pope Stephen.* 752–753.

That Grifo was killed in an attempt to make his way to the Lombards marks the course of the story. Things had changed since Pippin had gone to be shorn as a son by Liudprand. The mere choice of Lombardy by Grifo as a place of shelter would of itself show that the relations between Franks and Lombards were not as they had been then. Grifo would assuredly go nowhere but where enmity against his brother was either already in being or could be easily stirred up. The King went on; he crossed the Rhine; he passed through the wood of Ardennes, and sat down to rest after his toils in the royal house by the Mosel now known in the rival tongues of Pippin's dominions as Thionville and as Diedenhofer. There another piece of news was brought him which concerned the relations of Franks and Lombards yet more deeply than the attempted flight of Grifo to the court of Aistulf. A suppliant had come to claim the help of Pippin against Aistulf, a visitor such as Gaul and the whole Frankish dominions had never seen before. Pope Stephen, second of the name, was on

[1] Continuator, 118; "Nam et ipsi superscripti comites in eo prælio pariter interfecti sunt."

[2] Ib.; "Rex Pippinus, Christo propitio, cum magno triumpho, iterum ad Rhenum ad castrum, cujus est nomen Bonna, veniens."

his way to plead for the Church and the Republic of Rome against the enemies who threatened to devour them [1].

From the Frankish annals we should hardly have found out that the Pope's visit was fully expected, and was the result of long and complicated negotiations in various quarters. We have to deal with new actors, with that group of actors of whom Pippin himself is far from the least. As the ruler of the Franks has changed, so have the rulers of the Romans and the Lombards. The Empire is held by Constantine, called of his enemies Koprônymos, as fierce an Iconoclast and as mighty a warrior as his father Leo. The Lombard kingdom, ruled, in name at least, by Liudprand and Hildebrand in common, was held only a few months by Hildebrand after the death of his renowned uncle. He was deposed, and Duke Ratchis of Forum Julii was chosen in his place [2]. He had too, like Karlmann, withdrawn from the world, and sought the same shelter as Karlmann at Monte Casino. After him came his brother Aistulf, the prince who first spread the Lombard power further than it had ever been spread before, and in whose hands it first gave way before the advance of the Franks, to become tributary in his days and to pass under a foreign king in the days of his successor. It was against Aistulf, a more threatening enemy even than Liudprand, that Pope Stephen came to crave the help of the Franks and their King (March 26, 752). A Roman by birth, a Roman of the Roman city, he had lately succeeded the Greek Zachary and the Syrian Gregory, and it was as a Roman of the Old Rome that he was ready to play his part. And that part he played with consummate subtlety. He had a plan of

[1] Cont. Fred. 119; "Per Arduennam silvam cum ipse rex veniens, et Theudone villa publica super Mosella resedisset, nuntius ad eum veniens dixit, quod Stephanus papa de partibus Romæ cum magno apparatu et multis muneribus, jam monte Jovis transmeato, ad ejus properaret adventum."

[2] See the Continuatio Romana of Paul the Deacon, Scriptt. Rer. Lang. 200.

his own to carry out, and he knew how to make the chief princes of the world his instruments in carrying it out. He would have Rome practically independent of the Emperor and of all other princes. He would have the Bishop of Rome, whether under any formal title, the practical head of that independent Rome. To that end it was needful to secure Rome alike against her own Emperor and against the Lombard king, and so to do it was needful to call in the help of some prince who was likely to be less dangerous than they. But Stephen worked warily; he shrank from the extreme measures of his predecessor Gregory; he saw that his schemes did not call for any formal casting aside of the Imperial authority; he saw his way to letting the Emperor drop out of sight without any open revolt against him. By discreet appeals adapted in turn to each of those to whom they were made, by the skilful use of words of doubtful meaning, he proved too subtle for both the Emperor and the King of the Franks, and used both of them to serve his purposes. To that end he did what no Pope had ever done before, he took a journey in person into a foreign land to crave help of a foreign prince. Gregory had only sent letters to Charles Martel; Stephen went to speak with Pippin face to face in his own land. While there he did, as it were casually, a stroke of no small moment for the future of his own see. He came into Francia to ask the Frankish king to come to his help in Italy, and to come in the character of a Roman patrician. While in the Frankish land, he confirmed the Frankish king in his kingship by a personal act. Zachary had not taken on himself to transfer the Frankish crown from Childeric to Pippin. He had simply, as the shepherd of their souls, told the Franks that they would do no sin if they so transferred it. But when Stephen anointed afresh the king who had been already anointed by the bishops of his own land, he went many steps further. It seemed now as if a national act needed the confirmation of a foreign power; and the power which is applied to to confirm an act

is likely before long to take on itself to act in the first instance.

We must now try to follow the tangled thread of negotiations which went on in Italy before Stephen made his way in person to the Frankish court. Aistulf was pressing hard on the Imperial dominions in Italy; he had occupied Ravenna and the other towns of the Exarchate (750); the line of the successors of Narses had passed away; the seat of Emperors, kings, and exarchs, had passed into the hands of the Lombard[1]. And he who held Ravenna was threatening Rome. Aistulf had a fairer hope than any king since the great Theodoric of becoming king over all Italy. Nothing stood more in the way of all Stephen's schemes, of all the possible schemes of any possible Pope, than the fear of a Lombard master, that is, a neighbouring and a powerful master, a master who might possibly keep his court in Rome itself. The Emperor, heretic as he might be, was far better than the most orthodox king in such

[1] The exact course of Aistulf's advance is carefully traced by Oelsner, 117, and his first Excurs. His chronological inferences from Lombard documents are most valuable, though I am hardly concerned to follow them in detail, but it is something to see the Lombard king dating "Ravennæ in palatio," and I find it hard to put so much trust as Oelsner seems to put in the wonderful Benedicti Sancti Andreæ Monachi Chronicon, printed in Pertz, iii. 695. It may possibly contain some fragments of genuine tradition, but a great deal is made up from very obvious sources, and many of the thoughts and expressions belong to the writer's own time—that, according to his editor, of Otto the Third. Are we for instance to believe that Aistulf had Roman partisans? Oelsner quotes the passage in c. 17, p. 703; "Tunc surrexerunt viri Romani scelerati et intimaverunt Astulfu regi, ut venirent et possiderent Tusciæ finibus et *Romanum imperium usurparent.*" This is quite possible, and the words in italics would in a contemporary writer be of great importance, but the authority seems weak. And in the same chapter we have a meditation put into the mouth of Pope Stephen which bears the stamp of Otto's day rather than Pippin's; "Si ad Græcorum genere regnum Italicum et Romanum imperium devolberet et si a Francis in Italia ingredi deberet. Sed melius est a nobis a Francis que a Græcis dominis illorum subjaceret."

a case as this. And herein comes the policy of Stephen. He will, if he can, get rid of both Lombard and Emperor; but, if he has to choose, he will cleave to the Emperor. At this moment, the Emperor and the Pope are on friendly terms, and there seems to be no open breach of friendship between them during the whole of Stephen's life. Neither in Stephen's letters nor in his official biography do we find anything of that systematic reviling of the Emperor to which we are used earlier and later. Once only, towards the end of his life, in a letter which was most likely meant for the eyes of King Pippin only, does he fall into some strong language about the Greeks and their evil-doings[1]. At this moment Emperor and Pope have a common cause against the Lombard; the Frank is not thought of as a helper till the Pope finds the Emperor fail him in that character, and then he is called in, there is every reason to think, by the Pope, but with the full consent of the Emperor.

The story begins in the third month of the pontificate of Stephen (June, 752). Aistulf is attacking or making ready to attack Rome and the neighbouring towns[2]. The Pope sends an embassy to him, his own brother the Deacon Paul, afterwards his successor, and Ambrose, *Primicerius* of the Church of Rome. They take with them many gifts to win over the mind of the Lombard, and he agrees to a peace for forty years[3]. This of course merely concerns Rome and the Roman duchy; there is nothing touching Ravenna; the Pope is not taking on himself the functions of the Emperor; he is simply acting to ward off an immediate attack, like the Roman Senate dealing with

[1] Mon. Car. 65, 66. This is Stephen's last letter in 757 with reference to the Imperial Embassy which came to Pippin in that year.

[2] Our main authority now for some while is the Life of Stephen under the name of Anastatius Muratori, vol. iii. part i. p. 166. We hear of the "Magna Persecutio a Longobardorum rege Aestulfo in hac Romanæ urbe vel subjuventibus ei civitatibus."

[3] Ib.; "In quadraginta annorum spatia pacis fœdus cum eo ordinantes confirmaverunt."

Alaric or his own predecessor Leo dealing with Attila. The treaty was one of those many treaties which, in the words of our own Chronicles, "stand no while." In four months (October, 752), so the Roman writer says, Aistulf broke the engagement which was to have bound him for forty years. The language used is so vague that we do not clearly see whether he actually invaded the immediate Roman territory; in any case he put forth threats which were not a little frightful. He claimed Rome and the neighbouring towns as belonging to his jurisdiction; he threatened to come and extort a gold *solidus* as tribute from every inhabitant of Rome[1]. Two abbots, both of them his own subjects, Optatus who watched over Karlians and Ratchis at Monte Casino, and the Abbot of Saint Vincent on the Vulturus[2], were sent by the Pope to remind him of the treaty and pray that he would leave the people of God in peace[3]. Aistulf, the Roman says, met the venerable men with scorn, refused them leave to go back to the Pope, and sent them to monasteries in his own dominion. From the point of view of the Lombard they were most likely looked on as traitors. The Pope at the moment could do nothing more than betake himself to prayer.

Meanwhile Rome was not wholly forgotten by her distant sovereign. An envoy from the Emperor Constantine, John the Silentiary, came to Rome from the Imperial court on an errand both to the Pope and to the King of the Lombards. To the Pope, his own subject, his message is naturally spoken of as a command; to the Lombard king, assuredly not his subject, but in Imperial eyes perhaps little better than a rebel, the style used oddly mixes com-

[1] Vit. Steph. 166; "Per unum quodque scilicet caput singulos auri solidos annue inferre inhiabat."

[2] They are described as "venerabiles monasteriorum sanctorum Vincentii et Benedicti religiosi abbates." Of "abbatus" we shall hear again.

[3] Ib.; "Postulans pacis fœdera et quietem utrarumque partium populi Dei obtinere confirmandum."

mand and exhortation[1]. The message to Aistulf bade him give up to the Emperor's possession those lands of the Republic which he had usurped by the malice and instigation of the Devil[2]. What the Republic meant in the mouth of the Emperor who claimed dominion over its lands there is no need to ask. The message to the Pope is not given; it would seem to have been an order to Stephen to do his best to bring Aistulf to submit to the Imperial demand. This made Stephen's position a little difficult; no one was more anxious than he to get Aistulf out of Ravenna; no one was more anxious than he to have Ravenna restored to the Republic. He was doubtless not anxious to have it so restored to the Republic as to be again occupied by Imperial officers, though he might be willing to accept such a state of things as a less evil than its occupation by the Lombard. But at the moment there was nothing to be done but to work in concert with the Emperor. The Pope's brother Paul was again employed. With some other envoys of the Pope, as it would seem, he accompanied the Silentiary to the presence of Aistulf, who was then at Ravenna[3]. None of them had any effect on his mind; his answer was vague and meaningless[4]. The Silentiary went back to Constantinople in company with a Lombard envoy, no less a child of the Devil, we are told, than his master[5]. The Pope's envoys came back only to tell him that they had done nothing[6]. Then the Pope felt that there was nothing to be done, for the present at least, but to throw in his lot unreservedly with the Emperor.

[1] Vit. Steph. 166; "Deferens sedem sanctissimo pontifici regiam jussionem simulque et aliam ad nomen prædicti regis impii detulit adhortationis annexam jussionem."

[2] Ib.; "Ut reipublicæ loca diabolico ab eo usurpata ingenio proprio restitueret dominio."

[3] Ib.; "Ad eundem misit nequissimum Æstulfum Ravennam."

[4] Ib.; "Cum inani eos absolvet responso."

[5] Ib.; "Quemdam propriæ gentis nefarium virum diabolicis imbutum consiliis."

[6] Ib.; "Enarraverunt ei nihil se egisse."

He had often sent letters to him before; he now sent another by trusty envoys. The Iconoclast was now prayed, of his clemency, to come in person at the head of an army to defend these parts of Italy. Let him by all means come, to deliver the city of Rome and the whole province of Italy out of the jaws of the children of unrighteousness [1].

This letter must sound a little startling to those who think of the Eastern Rome and its relations to Italy as men are commonly taught to think. The devout Pope Stephen, no Greek or Syrian thrust in by an Exarch, but a Roman of the Romans, the choice of Rome, calls on the impious Koprônymos, the breaker of images, the foe and defiler of all holy things, to come in his own person to the defence of Rome! The coming of Constantine to the orthodox capital might have been a more dangerous risk than even the coming of Constans eighty years before. What havoc might he not have wrought among the holiest forms wrought in the abiding mosaic on the walls of the basilicas of Rome! On the other hand, when Rome was so straitly threatened, it would have been something to be guarded by the mighty captain who, on his white charger, so often led the hosts of the Eastern Rome to battle with the heathen of Bulgaria [2]. The letter was sent; but it did not bring Constantine to Italy; for a while it remained without an answer. With such foes as he had to strive against by Hæmus and Taurus, the lord of both Romes might be forgiven if he placed the safety of the Eastern Rome before that of the Western. But, while the heretical deliverer came not, the orthodox enemy was waxing fiercer and fiercer. Aistulf, if we may believe the Roman story, sent messages threatening to slay all the Roman people with a single sword, if they did not at once submit to his

[1] Vit. Steph. 166; "Deprecans Imperialem clementiam, ut juxta quod ei saepius scripserat, cum exercitu ad tuendas has Italiæ partes, modis omnibus adveniret, et de iniquitatis filii morsibus Romanam hanc urbem, vel cunctam Italiam provinciam liberaret."

[2] Gibbon, cap. xliii.

dominion[1]. The Pope had no temporal arms; he could but pray and exhort; he could but lead a sad and solemn procession to the basilica of Our Lady on the Esquiline, and there hang on the very crucifix the treaty broken by the Lombard[2]. Yet he tried more than once by gifts and embassies to move the strong heart of Aistulf to give him back his flock in Ravenna and the neighbouring cities thereof[3]. All was in vain. The Lombard was unmoved; the Emperor stirred not. Stephen at last made up his mind to seek help elsewhere. No hope was left—perhaps he had none from the beginning—of help coming from his own sovereign[4]. He must try what a foreign power could do for him. There was one foreign power above all which was bound to the Roman see by the nearest ties. The Franks had never failed in orthodoxy; of late years their dealings with the Roman bishops had become more and more frequent, more and more friendly. If the father of the present king had refused the prayer of Pope Gregory, it was with the approval of Pope Zachary, specially consulted on that deep case of conscience, that the present king himself had become a king. It was to the Franks, of all the powers of the world, that an oppressed and threatened Pope must flee for help. He had the means at hand. A Frankish pilgrim was at Rome. Such pilgrims were common there; but this one must have been marked in some special way. His name is not given; but he was clearly a man who could be trusted; he was most likely a man of some mark in the Frankish kingdom. To him the Pope gave a letter

[1] Vit. Steph. 166; "Asserens omnes uno gladio jugulari."

[2] Ib.; "Alligans connectensque adorandæ cruci dei nostri pactum illud, quod nefandus Rex Longobardorum disrupit."

[3] Ib. 167; "Jam fatum pestiferum Longobardorum Regem immensis vicibus innumerabilia tribuens munera deprecaretur pro gregibus sibi a Deo commissis, et perditis ovibus." The lost sheep are explained to be "Universus exercitus Ravennæ atque cunctus istius Italiæ provinciæ populus."

[4] Ib.; "Cernens præsertim et ab Imperiali potentia nullum esse subveniendi auxilium."

to King Pippin (March, 753), setting forth all the wrongs that the Roman province was undergoing at the hands of the wicked folk of the Lombards, and praying the King of the Franks to come and help him against his oppressors[1].

The King of the Franks was asked in the Pope's letter to send an envoy of his own to Rome (June, 753); and the envoy presently came in the person of Droctegang, Abbot of the great Neustrian house of Jumièges, then in its elder day of prosperity[2]. He came unlooked for in a moment of utter distress, when the Lombards were pressing the whole Roman duchy hard[3]; and he came, according to the Roman account, bearing promises from the Frankish king to do all that the Pope asked of him[4]. So wide an engagement passes all belief; if Pippin really promised help at so early a stage, it must have been with many conditions and qualifications. There were many good reasons which must have pleaded on the Lombard side with Pippin himself, and a king of the Franks had his armed people to win over. At all events, he was not disposed to take to arms till he had done a good deal more in the way of negotiation. Abbot Droctegang went back (July, 753), charged with two letters from the Pope, one for the King, the other to the great men, of the Franks[5]. There is really

[1] Vit. Steph. 167; "Clam per quendam peregrinum suas misit literas Pipino Regi Francorum nimio dolore huic provinciæ inhærenti conscriptas."

[2] The name of this abbot gets spelled in many ways and is not unnaturally confounded with that of Bishop Chrodegang. There seems no reasonable doubt that this is Droctegang of Jumièges and not of Gorzia near Metz. See the article Ructegangus in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, only Normandy is called into being before its time.

[3] Vit. Steph. 167; "Dum valide ab eodem Longobardorum rege civitates et provincia ista Romanorum opprimerentur subito conjunxit missus jam fati Regis." Another "missus" whose name is not given presently followed.

[4] Ib.; "Per quem misit in responsis omnem voluntatem ac petitionem prædicti Sanctissimi Papæ se adimplere."

[5] The letters are the fourth and fifth in the Codex Carolinus. The

very little in them, no statement of any definite facts; Abbot Droctegang is to do most of the business by word of mouth [1]. The elders of the Franks are appealed to by all the hopes and fears that were at the disposal of the bearer of the heavenly keys. Saint Peter is as usual spoken of as being almost at the beck and call of his earthly vicar [2]. The King is prayed to send other envoys, and with them to send back a certain John, seemingly a monk, a trustworthy man and his own subject who goes in Droctegang's company [3].

The Frankish embassies were going to and fro, and all the towns and villages of the Roman territory were hard pressed by the Lombards, when at last there came, if not help from beyond Hadria, yet at least a voice from that quarter which could not fail to tell in all the questions now to be settled. John the Silentiary came again to Rome (September, 753) with a commission from the Emperor Constantine, and with him came the envoys whom the Pope himself had sent to the Imperial court. No army came; the Emperor said nothing about coming himself; but John and his companions brought with them the materials for a good deal of work in the way of diplomacy. They brought with them the letters which Aistulf had written to the Emperor, and which the Lombard envoy had taken to Constantinople in the company of the Silentiary [4]. They

second is addressed "viris gloriosis nostrisque filiis omnibus ducibus gentis Francorum."

[1] Jaffé, Mon. Car. 32; "Per eum tuae sublimissimæ bonitati, in ore ponentes, remisimus responsum."

[2] Ib. 33; "Pro certo tenentes quod per certamen, quod in ejus sanctam ecclesiam vestram spiritalem matrem feceritis, ab ipso principe apostolorum vestra dimittantur peccata," &c. Saint Peter is not used in the letter to the King.

[3] Ib. 32; "Hunc Johannem virum religiosum cum eis mittere jubeas. Fidelis enim tuus est et prudenter reportat responsa."

[4] Vit. Steph. 167; "Illico at regia urbe conjunxit sæpe fatus Joannes imperialis silentiarius cum missis ipsius sanctissimi Pontificis deferens secum et quæ deportaverat iniqui Longobardorum Regis missus." See above, p. 116.

brought also an order from the Emperor to the Pope, bidding the Pope go in person to the Lombard king and demand the restoration of Ravenna and the other towns [1]. We may believe that Stephen was not specially eager to go on such an errand; but he did not propose to disobey his sovereign; he delayed only while he sent to Aistulf, asking for a safe-conduct for himself and for those who might come with him [2]. The document came back speedily, and about the same time (Sept.–Oct. 753) came King Pippin's two new envoys. One was a duke called Autchar; the other was one of the most famous churchmen of the age, Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, presently to be Archbishop, by virtue, not of the dignity of his see, but of his own personal merits [3]. They came with orders to bring the Pope to their own master [4]; and they found him on the eve of setting forth on his dangerous journey to the Lombard court on behalf of his lost sheep [5]. Here were

[1] Vit. Steph. 167; "Simul et jussionem imperialem in qua inerat insertum ad Longobardorum regem eundem sanctissimum Papam esse properaturum ob recipiendum Ravennatium urbem et civitates ei pertinentes."

[2] Ib.; "Direxit ad eundem blasphemum regem suum missum pro sua et qui cum eo ituri erant indemnitate."

[3] Ib.; "Ipsoque reverso extemplo et missi jam fati Pipini Regis Francorum conjunxerunt." There is no authority for the odd story which makes Chrodegang a nephew of Pippin.

[4] Ib.; "Quatenus prædictum sanctissimum Papam juxta quod petendo miserat ad suum Franciæ regem deducerent." I am surprised not to find a various reading for the most unusual phrase "Franciæ Rex." So Paul the Deacon, in the Gesta Ep. Mett. (Pertz, ii. 268), speaks of Chrodegang's mission; "A Pippino rege omnique Francorum cœtu singularibus electus, Romam directus est, Stephanumque venerabilem papam, ut *cunctorum vota anhelabant*, ad Gallias evocavit." Waitz (iii. 70) has some remarks on this which I do not quite understand, as if the words in italics had some reference to the anointing of Pippin. They may have; there may even be the constant confusion between the anointing under the authority of Zachary and the anointing at the hands of Stephen. But Paul says nothing about the anointing; he does not necessarily mean more than Waitz's summary of the Life of Stephen, "dass er [Chrodegang] dem Papst nur in Gallien als Begleiter gegeben."

[5] Ib.; "Pro recolligendis universis dominicis perditis ovibus." Yet

materials for an European conference indeed. The envoys of the Emperor and the King of the Franks were at Rome; the Pope was starting for Pavia; let them all go to the Lombard court together, and, if anything could be done in this world by the power of talking, there would surely be the finest opportunity ever known for doing it. They either did set out for the Lombard court together, or else they soon met there in the very nick of time (October 14, 753). The Roman writer has naturally most to say about the setting forth of the Pope, how a crowd of the people of Rome and the neighbouring towns pressed around him, weeping and wailing, and strove to hinder his going[1]. He set forth by the gate of Saint Peter, and took with him a large body of the Roman clergy and laity, of whom George, Bishop of Ostia, Wilchar, Bishop of Nomentum, and the Primicerius Ambrose, are men of whom we have heard already or shall hear again[2]. That the Silentiary and the Frankish envoys went with him our Roman informant does not say in so many words. But Duke Autchar at least was his companion during part of the journey, and the Silentiary shows himself at Pavia very soon after the Pope gets there. Whether they all travelled together matters very little; they all went on one errand, and the Pope and the Silentiary went by one commission. The Roman writer does not deny, though he clearly does not wish to enlarge on the fact, that Pope Stephen went to the Lombard court as joint-envoy with John the Silentiary.

if we are to believe the Chronicle of Benedict, this blaspheming king had just been holding a synod with the immediate shepherd of these lost sheep, Valerius Archbishop of Ravenna, and a crowd of other bishops and nobles, and had been making capitularies and edicts just as properly as Pippin himself.

[1] Vit. Steph. 167; "Flentes ululantesque nequaquam eum penitus ambulare sinebant."

[2] Ib. At this point the Biographer merely mentions "sacerdotes," "proceres" ("barones" in one text) and "militiæ optimates." We get the names in the text and several others when he leaves Pavia for Gaul.

Each alike went by the order of their common sovereign the Emperor Constantine.

They had fair weather on their journey. And on a night when they had travelled about forty miles, and had reached the Lombard border, they saw a sign from heaven which they looked on as a good omen. A ball of fire was seen to pass with a southward course from the parts of Gaul to the parts of the Lombards[1]. Such a sign was not hard to interpret; it seems to have stirred up those who came from the parts of Gaul to quicker action. Duke Autchar hastened on to Pavia, to make matters ready for the Pope's coming[2]. As the Pope drew near to Pavia, he was met by envoys from Aistulf, who warned him beforehand that their master would not listen to a word about giving up Ravenna or any part of the Exarchate. Words were added which might seem to imply that the demands of the Emperor went a good deal further. He would not give up any of the territory which former kings of the Lombards had taken from the Republic[3]. Here at least there could be no doubt as to the meaning of the word *Republic*. Every inch of territory which the Lombards had occupied since the day when Alboin came down from the Alps had been territory taken from the Roman Republic in the sense in which Constantine would use the word; there was very little of it which could be said to have been taken from any Roman Republic in the new sense which was beginning to creep in on papal lips. Aistulf's mind was fixed to give up nothing, be its posses-

[1] Vit. Steph. 167; "In una noctium signum in cœlo magnum apparuit, quasi globus igneus ad partem australem declinans a Galliæ partibus in Longobardorum partes."

[2] Ib. 168; "*Itaque* unus ex eisdem Francorum missis, scilicet Autcharius Dux, quantocyus præcedens Ticinum eum præstolatus est."

[3] Ib.; "Obtestans eum nulla penitus ratione audere verbum illi dicere petendi Ravennatium civitatem, et Exarchatum ei pertinentem vel de reliquis reipublicæ locis quæ ipse vel ejus predecessores Longobardorum reges invaserant."

sion older or newer. The Pope made answer that no fears or threats should force him to silence; he would still come and demand what he had to demand [1]. One would like to have his words more in full; they might easily be so chosen that the Silentiary might take them in one meaning and a zealous votary of Saint Peter in another.

At last the Pope reached Pavia. We can only tell the story as our Roman guide gives it. The Pope and the King meet; the Pope makes the King many gifts; with tears in his eyes he calls on the King to give back the Lord's sheep whom he has taken away, and to restore all things to their true owners [2]. These last words may cover a good deal. It throws some light on their meaning when we read that the Silentiary was there too, and that, though he perhaps did not talk about the Lord's sheep, yet, whatever was the substance of the Pope's demand, he made the same demand in the name of the Emperor, and presented the Imperial letter to the Lombard king [3]. Nothing surely can be plainer than that the Pope and the Silentiary are acting together; they are alike sent in the name of the Emperor to demand the restoration of the lands of the Empire. That last was what John was sent to demand. Stephen and John demanded the same thing.

Aistulf would yield nothing to any man, Pope, Silentiary, or any one else. At this stage John drops for a season out of the story; but we shall meet him again, sent, under quite new circumstances, to make the same demand of Pippin which he now makes of Aistulf. That he drops out of the story and that he appears in it again is an important part of the story. The Frankish envoys, of whom we have not heard while the Imperial envoys, Pope

[1] Vit. Steph. 168; "Asserens quod nullius trepidationis terrore sileret hujuscemodi petendi causam."

[2] Ib.; "Ut dominicas quas abstulerat redderet oves et propria propriis restitueret."

[3] Ib.; "Imperialis missus *simili modo* petiit et imperiales litteras illi tribuit et nil obtinere potuit."

and Silentiary, were pleading with the Lombard king, now step forward. Their mission, it will be remembered, was to take the Pope to the Frankish king. They now demanded of Aistulf in a high tone that Stephen should be allowed to go on his journey[1]. The King sent for the Pope and asked if he wished to go. The Pope[2] said that he did, on which the King gnashed his teeth like a lion[3]. He seems to have made no formal answer; but he more than once privily sent his officers and chief men to the Pope to dissuade him from his purpose of going[4]. At last Aistulf and Stephen had another interview in the presence of Bishop Chrodegang. The King then finally asked the Pope if he wished to go into Frankland. The Pope answered; 'If it is your will to let me go; it is certainly mine to make the journey." Then Aistulf gave him the needful leave to set out[5], and his memorable journey to the Frankish court began.

In reading this whole account, we have not the slightest reason to doubt a single fact that is set down by Stephen's biographer. We only doubt whether he has always told every fact, and whether he has not thrown a certain colouring of his own over the whole story. We specially wish to know what happened between the Pope and the Silentiary after the failure of their joint appeal to Aistulf. They had seemingly gone together to Pavia; they certainly acted together there; but at Pavia they must have parted. Stephen, we know, went on into Frankland; in default of any hint to the contrary, we must suppose that John went back to Constantinople. Only on what terms did they part after their joint efforts had failed? Let

[1] Vit. Steph. 168; "Imminebant fortitus apud eundem Aistulfum ut prefatum sanctissimam papam in Franciam pergere relaxarat."

[2] Ib.; "Ad hæc convocans jamdictum beatissimum virum."

[3] Ib.; "Ut leo dentibus fremebat."

[4] Ib.; "Satellites [*al.* optimates] ad eum clam misit."

[5] Ib.; "Quod si tua voluntas est me relaxandi, mea omnino est ambulandi. Tunc absolutus est ab eo."

us look back to the whole story. In a short summary it stands thus. The Pope, threatened by Aistulf, tries in vain to turn away his wrath. The Emperor sends his officer John with a mission to demand the lost lands from Aistulf, and ordering the Pope to do what he can to help. The Pope obeys, but the mission fails. John goes back to Constantinople with a Lombard envoy, and the Pope presently sends thither a petition to the Emperor, praying him to come with an army and deliver him and Rome. The Emperor delays; the Lombard threatens; the Pope again pleads in vain. At last he appeals to the King of the Franks to come and help him. An answer is sent with promises of some kind. The Pope sends a more earnest letter to Pippin. Then comes John the Silentiary from Constantinople with an order from the Emperor, bidding the Pope go to the King of the Lombards in person, and demand again the restoration of the lost lands. He sends first for a safe-conduct. Then come the Frankish envoys with orders to bring the Pope to their own king. Then all, Pope, Silentiary, Frankish envoys, go to Pavia, or at any rate meet there. The two Imperial envoys, the Pope and the Silentiary, demand in vain that Aistulf should restore the lost lands. Of the Silentiary we hear no more till he comes again to demand those same lands of Pippin. The Pope with the Frankish envoys goes on to the Frankish king.

Nothing can be plainer or more trustworthy than this whole story in everything that it tells us. The relations between the Pope and the Emperor are as clear as can be. In every outward aspect the Pope is the loyal subject of the Emperor; towards the end of the story the Pope acts in person as the Emperor's trusted minister. It is simply the conventional way of thinking of an Emperor of the eighth century, strengthened somewhat by the really different state of things which was a little earlier and a little later, which makes it hard to take this in. But the facts are plain. Constantine has lost part of his

dominions at the hands of Aistulf; he calls on Aistulf to restore what he has taken; he twice orders the Pope to help to carry out his purpose; and the Pope both times obeys, first sending his brother and then going himself. The points which are not clear are, in what relation the appeal of the Pope to the Emperor stood to his appeal to the King of the Franks, in what relation the Frankish and Imperial envoys stood to one another in the negotiations at Pavia, and whether the Pope's journey into the Frankish dominions was known and approved by the Emperor or his representative. This last question will easily swell into one yet deeper and harder, whether the Pope, in what he did on Frankish soil, was in any sort acting by Imperial authority, whether, in short, in leaving Pavia, he left behind him the character of an Imperial envoy. We want to fill up the gap in our story which there is on the Imperial side between the mission of John the Silentiary in which Stephen and he demanded that Aistulf should restore Ravenna to the Emperor and the later mission in which John demanded that restoration of Pippin and Pippin refused it. And the filling up of that gap involves the question, What did Pippin understand when he undertook to recover the lands of the Roman Republic, and what did he understand when he accepted the title of Roman Patrician?

The answers to these questions are of no small moment even to general history. It may be well to put off our attempts to answer them till we have gained whatever light we can gain from the story of Pope Stephen's journey in Gaul. Only in tracing that story it will be well to bear in mind, what is so commonly put altogether out of sight, the real relations between the Pope and the Emperor at this moment, and the important part which the Imperial diplomacy has just played in the story, and which before long it will begin to play again.

§ 3. *Pope Stephen in Gaul.* 753–754.

The Pope and his companions set forth from Pavia (November 15, 753). We are told that the Lombard king still strove in some undescribed way to hinder his going [1]. He therefore went with all speed to the Frankish border, choosing for his point of crossing the Alps the pass where Saint Bernard has in later times displaced Jupiter [2]. By this road, going by Ivrea and Aosta, he would be in Frankish territory sooner than by any other. Susa and Aosta were both Frankish; but the Frankish border on the side of Aosta came a little nearer to Pavia than it did on the side of Susa. His first stopping-place after his passage was in the deep dale which was already beginning to bear names which have grown into their present form of Wallis and Valais [3], at the famous abbey which sheltered the memory and the relics of the holy warrior Maurice and his comrades of the Theban legend [4]. There he rested for a while after the toils of a journey which seems to have been utterly distasteful to him. That the mountain travelling, with its cold and snow, did not suit him is not wonderful; but he also brings in as a more general charge against the land of Gaul that it was wide and distant, that it had great rivers and was liable to floods, and further that it was subject to heat as well as to cold [5]. While he was

[1] Vit. Steph. 168; "Post ejus absolutionem adhuc nitebatur suprascriptus Longobardorum Rex a prædicto itinere eum deviare, quod minime ipsum sanctissimum virum latuit."

[2] The Biographer says; "Cum nimia celeritate Deo prævio ad Francorum conjunxit clusas." One might have thought that this meant by way of Susa, but we see from the Continuator what "Francorum clusæ" are meant. Pippin hears at Thionville "quod Stephanus papa de partibus Romæ cum magno apparatu et multis muneribus, jam *monte Jovis transmeato*, ad ejus properaret adventum."

[3] It is "comitatus Vallisorum" in the next century in the division of the Empire, 839; Pertz, i. 434; Legg. i. 373.

[4] Ib.; "Cœptum gradiens ita ad venerabile monasterium sancti Christi martyris Mauricii pervenit."

[5] His great complaint on this score comes somewhat later in his

at Saint Maurice, one of his companions, the Primicerius Ambrose, died, and his extant epitaph in the crypt of Saint Peter's at Rome shows that the Pope's stay lasted into the month of December[1]. During that stay he was met by two of the chief men of the Frankish realm sent immediately from the presence of the King. Pippin, as we have seen, had heard at Thionville that the Pope had crossed the mountains. He began to make preparations to receive so memorable a guest with all honour. For the place of meeting he chose Ponthion in the Gaulish Campania, not far from the right bank of the Marne, a little south of the Catalaunian city[2]. To greet the Pope at Saint Maurice he sent a duke named Rothard, and his constant counsellor Abbot Fulrad of Saint Denis, with the mission of bringing the holy stranger to his own presence. They must have skirted the northern shore of the Leman Lake, and Stephen is said to have made a second sojourn in another famous monastery of the Burgundian realm, that venerable house of Romainmotier in the land of Vaud, where work still stands which he may possibly have looked on, and which is said to have taken its distinctive name of *Roman* from his visit. King Pippin meanwhile, with

letter to Pippin in 755, Mon. Car. 38; "Tradidimus enim corpus et animam nostram in magnis laboribus in tam spatiosam et longinquam provintiam; valde fisi in vestra fide, per Dei nutum illuc profecti sumus, adflicti in nive et frigore, æstu et aquarum inundatione atque validis fluminibus et atrocissimis montibus seu diversis periculis."

[1] The inscription is quoted by Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom, ii. 311: Seine barbarische Grabschrift —

"Ex hac urbe processit suo secutus pastorem.
In Roma salvanda utrique petebant regno tendentes Francorum
Sancta perveniens loca B. Mauritii aulæ secus fluvii Rhodani
Litus ubi vita noviliter ductus finivit mense Decemb."

[2] Pontico, Pontigo, in several spellings, is mentioned more than once by Gregory of Tours, as iv. 23, "apud Ponticonem villam," and in the Liber de Miraculis S. Martini, iv. 41, it appears as "Domus Ponticonensis." See more in Longnon, 405. In our time the Continuator calls it "Pontem Ugone, villa publica." One does not quite see what Pontico is, but this form looks rather like an unlucky attempt at etymology. There is an intermediate form "Pontegune."

Queen Bertrada and their two sons and a crowd of the princes and elders of the Franks, awaited the coming of the Pontiff at Ponthion.

But Pope Stephen was to be met on his road by one greater than Bishop Chrodegang and Duke Autchar, than Abbot Fulrad and Duke Rothard. Of the two sons of Pippin and Bertrada, the elder, still a boy, perhaps a child, perhaps of the age of twelve years, perhaps only of that of seven, was he who stands forth among all the ages as the mightiest of his nation, the man who, like Alexander and like Cæsar, fixed the course of the world's history through all the years that were to follow, the first of Teutonic kings on whom history has for ever bestowed the name of Great, and to whom legend has done the further honour of entwining greatness into his very name. The Charles of history, the Charlemagne of fable, the Teutonic Karl who gathered together in himself all that Teutonic manhood deemed most its own, as yet perhaps undistinguished from any other boy of kingly birth, was sent, with a goodly company of the great men of the Franks, to go before his father, and to be the first of the new kingly house to welcome the Roman Bishop on Frankish soil. No detail of the interview has been preserved; but it would seem to have taken place at some point about half-way between Ponthion and Romainmotier, somewhere in the land between Besançon and Langres[1]. There the Bishop of Rome, subject, perhaps still envoy, of the Emperor reigning at Constantinople, first looked on him whom, forty-six years later, a successor of his was to crown with an Imperial diadem, to mark that the Old Rome again asserted her rights as the equal of the New, and, in the language of the time, that the Frank and not the Greek was the nation chosen to wield the Roman power.

[1] "Centum millia" say some texts of the Life of Stephen; others only "non pauca millia." The Continuator (121) says only "filio suo Carolo ei obviam ire præcepit."

We are thus brought, suddenly, prematurely, unexpectedly, into the presence of the foremost man of the world's history. But the boy who was sent to meet Pope Stephen is for years to come overshadowed by the fame of his father. To us, who look back on the course of eleven hundred years, Pippin may seem small beside Charles; yet Pippin's path to kingship, to dominion beyond the Alps, was a first and needful step to his son's path to Empire, to dominion on the Elbe, the Ebro and the Theiss. We in no way take from the honour of the son, if we do justice to the great deeds of the father. The true glory of the Austrasian house is that it could go from strength to strength, each generation building for itself on the work of the generation that went before it. The young son of Pippin is before long to be again brought in in a still more illustrious pageant; but the fate of the world was fixed in councils in which the voice even of Charles the Great could as yet have been at most heard in some formal sentence of approval. As yet his will could have had no share in ruling the course of events. The kingly bairn, with the warriors and elders who surrounded him, led the Pope, with all worship, to a spot at the distance of three miles from the royal seat of Ponthion, where the son could hand over the illustrious guest to the keeping of his father. A great company was there gathered, the King of the Franks, his Queen Bertrada, their younger son the child Karlmann, and a crowd of the great men of the Frankish realm. Pippin deemed it no lowering of his earthly kingship to come down from his horse, to bow himself to the ground before his ghostly father, to take on himself the duties of the *strator*, to lead the bridle of Stephen's horse till they reached the royal house of Ponthion[1]. No Frankish king before him had ever had such a guest to welcome. The coming of Stephen plainly

[1] Vit. Steph. 168; "Ad fere trium millium spatium descendens de equo suo . . . papam suscepit, cui et vice stratoris usque ad aliquantum locum juxta ejus sellarem properavit."

stamped the new kingly house of the Franks as at once mightier and holier than the old. The presence of Stephen was a witness to its might; it was the formal beginning of its holiness. The Pope sought the help of the King of the Franks as the mightiest of protectors, when he found that his own sovereign could give him no help. He came to offer him honours, to lay on him duties, which would make him yet higher and mightier, and he came to crown all by a spiritual rite which might seem to put him on a level with Augustus himself. And the day was worthy of the guest and of the host; it was the day of the Epiphany, the day of the Kings, the day on which it fell to the lot of the King of the West to bow to the Vicar of Him to whom the Kings of the East had once been privileged to bow in His bodily presence[1]. With shouts of joy and singing of hymns, the King led the holy stranger to rest for a while in his own royal house.

The rejoicings and the religious enthusiasm with which Pippin and his people received Pope Stephen were doubtless heartfelt. A tribute was indeed paid to them, a mark of confidence was placed in them, such as had never been paid to any other prince and people. More than one Pope had crossed the sea against his will at the command of his lord the Emperor; no Pope before Stephen had crossed the mountains of his own free will at the invitation of a foreign but friendly king. Yet some searching of heart on the part of Pippin and his wise men must have made themselves felt when they could for a while free themselves from the enthusiasm of the moment, and could look calmly at the wholly new state of things in which they were called on to take a share and the leading share. Pippin was called on to forsake the policy of his father, to do that very thing which his father had utterly refused to do. He was called on to step in as a mediator, in all likelihood as

[1] Vit. Steph. 168; "Sexta Januarii mensis die in apparitionis Domini et salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi sacratissima solemnitate." Here we have a Latin rendering of the Greek Theophania.

an armed mediator, in lands beyond the bounds of Frankish dominion or Frankish superiority in the widest sense. He was called on, perhaps to enlarge the Frankish kingdom, certainly to enlarge the range of Frankish influence. And he was called on to do all this at the cost of the power which had been for some generations the closest ally of the Frankish kingdom. He was not indeed asked to make war on the king who had made him his adopted son; but he was asked to threaten, if need be to make war on, the successor of that king and his people. And he was called on to do all this without any of the usual motives which lead kings to go forth to battle. Aistulf and his people had done no wrong to Pippin and his people; they had in no sort fallen away from the friendship which had bound together Liudprand and Charles. If anything, the Frank was still in the debt of the Lombard for active and useful help given on a day of danger. An attack on Lombardy by Pippin would be the most shameless of unprovoked aggressions, unless it could be coloured by some motive that might take away somewhat of its native ugliness. Such a motive the coming of the Pope supplied. Pippin was bidden to go forth, as a pious crusader, not to redress any wrongs either of himself or of his people, but to redress the wrongs of something greater than they. He was to come to the help of the Republic of Rome, of the Prince of the Apostles himself[1]. The call was one which could not be lightly refused, neither could it be lightly obeyed. The time was, even after the negotiations of the last year, pre-eminently a time to pause and think.

But small time for thought was allowed to the King or his counsellors. The rest of the day on which Stephen came was given up to the ceremonies of his welcome, and to the acceptance of the gifts which the illustrious stranger brought for his royal host and the great men of his realm. The next day an appeal was made to the King

[1] Vit. Steph. 168; "Deprecatus est ut per pacis fœdera causam beati Petri et reipublicæ Romanorum disponeret."

personally which it would have been hard to refuse. Did King and Pope sit side by side in the royal chapel of Ponthion, as kings and prelates so often did in other times and places [1], and did the Pope, with tears in his eyes, then make his petition to the King? Or shall we believe that the Pope with his attendant clergy came before the King, his sons and his great men, in sackcloth and ashes, that the Pope threw himself at the King's feet, that he vowed not to rise till he had received a promise that all that he prayed for should be granted; that with the good will of all present, the King and his sons stretched forth their hands and lifted the holy guest from the earth with a promise to do all he asked? The one is the Roman, the other the Frankish tale. We may suspect a prudent silence in the one, we may suspect a proud exaggeration in the other; the practical result is the same in either case. Before King and Pope parted, the King had promised—perhaps with some reservation of the rights of his people—to do all that the Pope asked him. He promised, he swore, to undertake the cause of Saint Peter and of the Roman Republic, and to restore to the Roman Republic the Exarchate of Ravenna and whatever else the King of the Lombards had taken from it [2].

What was the meaning of such a promise? We must again insist on the fact that, in the ordinary language of the time, the words Roman Republic meant simply the same thing as the words Roman Empire. Such was the sense which the words commonly bore both at Constanti-

[1] For the details of the first interview between Pippin and Stephen and the different accounts that we have of them, see Appendix, Note 4. But in any case the Roman writer has surely run the events of two days into one. The Moissac chronicler with far more likelihood makes the Pope come to Ponthion one day and enter on business the next.

[2] According to the Biographer, Pippin "de presenti jurejurando eidem beatissimo Papæ satisfecit. Omnibus mandatis ejus et admonitionibus sese totis nisibus obedire, et ut illi placitum fuerit, Exarchatum Ravennæ, et reipublicæ jura, seu loca reddere modis omnibus."

nople and in Italy; such was the sense in which they were used in other lands by writers who followed the usage of Constantinople and Italy. Setting aside the mention of Saint Peter, the first and obvious meaning of Pippin's promise was to restore the Exarchate and the other lost lands to the dominions of the one Emperor of the Romans, Constantine Augustus. Such was the meaning which the words Roman Republic had borne in the message sent by Gregory the Third to Charles Martel; such is the meaning in which we shall see that they were taken only a little later by the Emperor Constantine himself. And we may go further; when we remember how lately the Pope was acting as an Imperial envoy, how lately he had gone in his master's name to demand of the Lombard king the restoration of the lands of the Republic to the Emperor of the Republic, it is hard to believe that he had, in bidding farewell to his colleague at Pavia, wholly cast aside the character which he and John the Silentiary had in the negotiations at Pavia borne in common. We cannot get rid of the notion that, as the tale would have been told at Constantinople, Pope Stephen went to the Frankish king with a full Imperial sanction, that he bore a commission from his own sovereign to call on the King of the Franks to come to the help of the Roman Republic—as the Emperor understood that phrase—and to offer him the highest honours of the Roman Republic as his reward. When we see the Pope, the Silentiary, and the Frankish ambassadors all acting together at the Lombard court, when we see that the object of the joint mission of Pope and Silentiary was undoubtedly the recovery of Ravenna and the other cities by the Emperor, it is very hard to avoid the belief that the journey into Gaul was simply the sequel of the journey to Pavia, that it was arranged by common consent that, if Aistulf could not be got to yield, the Pope should go on and ask the help of Pippin. As the interview at Ponthion would be understood at Constantinople, the Pope, in the name of the Emperor Constantine,

called on the King of the Franks to come and win back the Exarchate for the Roman Republic and the Emperor Constantine its head, and the King of the Franks promised so to do.

But if such was the Pope's commission as understood by the Emperor, if such was the issue of his negotiations as understood by the Emperor, it by no means follows that such was the sense in which the Frankish king understood them, or that such was the sense in which the Pope meant the Frankish king to understand them. We at least know that when the King and the Emperor came to what diplomatists call an "interchange of ideas," they found that their ideas about the whole matter had been quite different throughout. The King had done one thing when the Emperor had expected him to do another. In other words, to speak the plain truth, the Pope had taken in both the King and the Emperor. Sent on a commission to do one thing, he had in words done what he was bidden; in truth he had done something different and actually opposite. He had taken advantage of an ambiguous phrase, the phrase of Roman Republic. As to the meaning of those words there would be no doubt at Constantinople; but they were words on which it was clearly possible to put another meaning; it may be that another meaning was growing up; it may well be that the Pope purposely used words of a doubtful meaning, words which the King and the Emperor were likely not to understand in exactly the same way, and which he might keep to himself, if he thought good, the right to understand in yet a third way. It would not be very hard to argue that it was somewhat of a forced construction by which the words Roman Republic were used to express the absolute dominion of an Emperor reigning at Constantinople, an Emperor whom the needs of warfare might carry to the foot of Hæmus and Taurus, but who never showed himself on the seven hills of the Old Rome. Would it not be a more natural use of the words if they took up again a meaning nearer to that

which they had borne in ages now long past? They might with ease be taken to mean, in some shape or another, the elder Rome itself and the immediate Roman lands. With those lands the Roman Bishop might be brought in as standing in a special relation to them. That relation need not be that of a direct temporal ruler; it might be that of a spiritual leader protected by some fleshly arm whose protection might be more effectual and less irksome than that of the Iconoclast Emperor. And all this might come without either formally denying or emphatically asserting the right of the absent sovereign to some vague and unpractical superiority. The Emperor and his authority need not be solemnly cast off, but they might, within the Italian lands of the Empire, be brought down to something like what Childeric and his authority had been in the Frankish lands three years before. There would indeed be the wide practical difference that the Merwing could be treated as a being having no practical existence, while the Isaurian, however low he might be brought in Italy, would still remain the mighty ruler of the lands beyond Hadria. Constantine might have to be dealt with in a way in which Childeric could never have to be dealt with. But, if so, he would have to be dealt with as practically a foreign prince; within the Italian lands themselves the process might be nearly the same, that of withdrawing all real authority from a prince who was still acknowledged in name. There would be no more need for Stephen to set forth all this to the King than there was to set it all forth to the Emperor. The cue of the Pope was to keep the Imperial rights in the background, and to work on the mind of the King by vague and ambiguous phrases. The peculiar glory of the Roman Church, its boasted connexion with the Prince of the Apostles, might be brought in, effectually, if somewhat vaguely, to throw a charm over the prospect of delivering his special city from the ungodly foes who threatened it. Words cleverly handled might leave no clear distinction

between the Roman Church and the Roman Republic, and no clear distinction between either of them and the Apostle who watched over both. As in after days Saint Mark and his Republic were names and thoughts which could not be kept asunder, so it was beginning to be with Saint Peter and the Church and Republic which claimed to be in the like sort his. The tie might even be stronger between Saint Peter and the city where he was held to have dwelled as a mortal bishop than it could be between Saint Mark and the city which had adopted him after death as a heavenly patron. Republic, Church, Apostle, might be skilfully blended together in a threefold cord which could not lightly be broken. Something like all this, the Pope and the Frankish king each in his place, with an Emperor hardly acknowledged but never formally cast off, was, as we know, the actual result for full forty years of Stephen's journey to Ponthion. It is surely no unjustifiable surmise that something of the kind was already in his thoughts when he went thither. At the state of King Pippin's mind, at the exact measure of his intentions, it might be harder to guess; indeed the whole subject supplies an endless field for guesses, likely and unlikely. Beside the promises made by the King in favour of the Republic, there is the further question of that lofty title of the Republic which was presently bestowed upon the King. Was the Patriciate, so solemnly conferred on Pippin a few months later, spoken of in this first interview at Ponthion? If so, by what authority did Stephen bestow it? In what sense did Pippin accept it? These again are hard questions; it may be better to keep our attempt at answering them till we come to the stage when the Patriciate is actually mentioned in our story. At present we have to deal with the first promise made by Pippin, the promise at Ponthion. When Pippin bound himself to restore the Exarchate of Ravenna and the other lost rights and territories of the Roman Republic, what did he bind himself to do? To whom did he bind himself to restore them? We may,

I think, without attempting to explain everything, lay down three positions without much fear of being mistaken in them. First, Pippin did not hold himself bound to restore the Exarchate and the other lands conquered by Aistulf to the immediate dominion of the Emperor. Secondly, he did not hold himself to be, in anything that he did, acting a hostile part towards the Emperor. Thirdly, neither Pope Stephen nor his successors for forty years even formally cast aside their allegiance to Constantine and his successors. It is of the first moment to insist on all these points, because the relations of all parties to the Empire and the place held by the Empire in the eyes of all parties is the side of the story which modern readers find it hardest to understand. Stephen and his successors had no love for Constantine and his successors; but they could neither deny their existence nor get rid of the fact of their existence in the politics of the time. But by dexterous subtlety, by the discreet choice of words, by neither acknowledging the Emperor nor formally denying him, but by keeping him carefully out of sight, the objects of the Pope might be carried out. The Eastern and the Western potentate alike might be successfully hoodwinked. Constantine might be led to believe that Pippin was coming to his help, while Pippin was led to believe that, in doing something altogether against the wishes of Constantine, he was in no way wronging a friendly potentate.

The first promise then was made at the first interview at Ponthion, but as yet no decisive step could be taken. An army could not come together and begin its march in January, and it was not yet absolutely certain that any army would be needed. And yet more, a king of the Franks, above all a king of the Franks in the special position of Pippin, could not act in so great a matter without the consent of his kingdom. The voice of that kingdom might speak in less than two months in the Marchfield, but it could not speak till then. Meanwhile a more fitting

place than any royal house had to be found for the holy stranger and his following. Pope Stephen and his companions were quartered for the present in the monastery of Saint Denis. The choice of that house, the house of Pippin's special affection, the spiritual home of his childhood, might pass as a special mark of the King's friendship for the Pope, as well as a special honour done to Abbot Fulrad, who had doubtless already won the Pope's favour on this journey. With them the Pope was to abide till the day of the national meeting. There he presently fell sick. The long and distant journey had been too much for him. The mountains, the rivers, the changes of the weather, the heat, the cold, the floods, all had worn him out. Both his own attendants and the Franks held him to be sick unto death; one morning the King came to the Pope's quarters fully expecting to find only his dead body. He was rejoiced and thankful to find that, by God's mercy, his health had been strangely and speedily restored [1].

Meanwhile the King made a last effort to see whether the object which Pope and King now both sought could be gained without a resort to arms. One more embassy was sent to Aistulf, warning him by his reverence for the apostles Peter and Paul not to march in hostile guise against the Roman territory. This is a clear message enough; it is less easy to understand the meaning of a warning not to do or to compel the Romans to do certain superstitious and ungodly things, contrary to all good law and order [2]. One might understand such a message to one of the heathen or even heretical predecessors of the Lombard kings; but surely Aistulf, with all his alleged crimes, was,

[1] The sojourn at St. Denis is mentioned by all the three chief authorities, the Continuator, Moissac, and the Biographer. But it is the last only that records the Pope's sickness, p. 168; "Præ nimio labore itineris, atque temporis inæqualitate fortiter infirmatus est." The legendary version of his healing by Saint Denis himself will be found in the "Revelatio," Bouquet, v. 591.

[2] On the message to Aistulf see Appendix, Note 4, p. 373.

in point of dogma and ceremony, not less orthodox than Liudprand or than Pippin himself.

The message, whatever its nature, had no effect. Aistulf hardened his heart, and the Frankish envoys came back empty. But either their mission or the course of events before their mission led to the appearance on Gaulish soil of an advocate of the Lombard cause whom we should hardly have looked for. Karlmann, once Mayor of the Palace, Duke of the Franks, nursing-father of the Church and conqueror of the Alamans, now the humble and holy monk of Monte Casino, came to the court of his brother to pray his brother to grant no help to Pope Stephen against the Lombard king. He came to argue before the King and people of the Franks, to use all his skill and all the authority of his name on behalf of the Lombard, and to answer all that Pope Stephen might say against him [1]. There is something strange in the sight of one who had gone to Rome and her Bishop to be delivered from the bondage of the world coming back again into the world to argue against the cause of Rome as pleaded by her Bishop. At a later time Karlmann was said to have come against his will [2], but he came at the bidding of those who were now his immediate superiors, ghostly and worldly. The monastery of Monte Casino stood within the borders of the Beneventum duchy; that is, it was within the dominions, or at least under the supremacy, of the Lombard king at Pavia. Moreover, the Lombard king had at that moment a special means of controlling the chief of the house. Abbot Optatus, it will be remembered, had gone to Aistulf on the Pope's errand, and had not been allowed to go back to him who sent him [3]. It does not follow that he was imprisoned or kept under further restraint; he may well enough have gone back to Monte Casino; but the King would doubtless keep his eye

[1] On the mission of Karloman see Appendix, Note 5.

[2] So Einhard, 753. See Appendix, Note 5.

[3] See above, p. 116.

on him. So now Aistulf made known his will to his subject Abbot Optatus, and Abbot Optatus made known his will to his ghostly son the monk Karlmann, that he should go and play the part of advocate of the Lombard king at the court of the king who was his brother according to the flesh. One is curious to know the exact feelings both of Optatus and of Karlmann. That the Abbot went on an embassy to ask Aistulf to fulfil a treaty and to spare Rome would not at all prove that he would wish to bring a Frankish army into Italy. He might very well do what the King bade him with perfect good will. As for Karlmann, if he brought himself to think once more of earthly affairs, he would remember that Frankish interference in Italy, Frankish action against the Lombard ally of the Franks, was the very thing in which his father had refused to take any part. That he came unwillingly is merely one of those surmises which do not amount to statements of fact. The whole course of the story, the way in which Karlmann is spoken of and the way in which he is treated, all look as if, whether his coming was actually willing or unwilling, his mission was at least one which he could without scruple discharge to the best of his power. At any rate he set forth at the joint bidding of monastic obedience and of worldly loyalty to discharge the strange duty he thus laid upon him. Other monks of Monte Casino went with him as his comrades [1]. We have no details of his mission, but he clearly discharged it faithfully. It must have been with strange feelings that Karlmann passed in his new guise through the land where he had once been so mighty to the home and throne of the younger brother who, since he became a monk, had grown into a king. Stranger still would it be if the former Mayor and Duke showed himself in the Marchfield in his double character of monk and foreign envoy, if he was allowed to speak to the assembled Franks in the name of his Lombard master, and

[1] This appears from a passage in the letters of Stephen to Pippin (Jaffé, Mon. Car. p. 61), to which we shall come again.

if, as the envoy of a foreign king, he received from the mouth of King Pippin the royal answer to his message, such as he had himself been used to dictate to King Childeric. With almost greater curiosity than in the case of Karlmann, we ask whether the Pope himself appeared to plead his cause in person before the assembled Franks. Karlmann, *advocatus diaboli* as he would seem in papal eyes, would at least have the advantage that he could win the hearts of the German warriors by stirring words in their own tongue, while the Pope would be a barbarian to the men of Austria and a speaker of needlessly refined book-Latin to the men of Neustria and Burgundy. On the whole it does seem most likely that the two strangely matched disputants, the Bishop of Rome and the monk of Monte Casino, did actually appear, each to maintain his own argument, when the assembly that had to judge between them, the assembly of the whole Frankish nation, came together. That was on the first day of March (754) by the old royal house of Berny in the land of Soissons, by the *Cotia Silva*, hard by the joining of the streams of Aine and Oise[1]. It was surely before that great gathering that the monk Karlmann, at the bidding of the wicked tyrant Aistulf, strove earnestly and with all his might to overthrow the cause of the holy Church of God[2]. So says the Roman teller of the tale, who adds that all his pleadings could not move the strong heart of the most Christian King Pippin, who saw through the whole craft of the ungodly Lombard. We must suppose that what Karlmann said in his own tongue Stephen answered through an interpreter. He could not have lacked interpreters and advocates, the King himself first among them. Whatever might be the strength of Karlmann's arguments, they did not convince Pippin, and the King carried with him at least the more part of the assembly. The King publicly renewed the promise which he had made to the Pope, and the

[1] Berny, not Braisne.

[2] On all these details, see Appendix, Note 5.

decree of the Frankish nation was to give him all help in the work. Yet there is good reason to believe that this decree was not passed without strong opposition on the part of some of the chief men of the Franks. Some of Pippin's special counsellors, whose mind he was accustomed to ask, were either convinced by the pleadings of Karlmann or found arguments on his side spring up in their own minds. They strongly opposed the King's will; they ever threatened to stand apart and take no share in an expedition decreed for such an end [1]. Nor is it in any way wonderful if many in the assembly would gladly have done as Karlmann would have had them. An old comrade of Charles the Hammer, who had fought against the Saracen in true fellowship with Lombard helpers, who remembered how his victorious prince had declined alike to undertake wars and to receive honours beyond the bounds of the Frankish realm and of immediate Frankish interests—such an one might well deem that wisdom was on the side of the elder brother, when he warned the younger to cleave to the safe policy of their father. But the will of the King, the charm and wonder of the new position, did their work. The Franks were ready to jeopard their lives for the rights of Saint Peter and the Roman Republic, whatever meaning they may have attached to the latter name. The King carried the mass of the nation with him in a vote to do for the Pope all that he had come to ask of them. The Frankish host was to march to chastise the King of the Lombards

[1] This comes from Einhard, Vita Karoli, 6; "Bellum contra Langobardos . . . Stephano papa supplicante, cum magna difficultate susceptum est, quia quidam e primoribus Francorum cum quibus consultare solebat [Pippinus], adeo voluntati ejus remisi sunt ut se regem deserturos domumque redituros, libera voce proclamarent." Einhard is not contemporary with the coming of Karlmann and Stephen, and we may suspect that he has somewhat mixed together opposition in the Assembly with a threat to desert on the march. But the story of opposition to the Italian expedition is one which he must have got from some genuine tradition. He could never have invented or dreamed it, while writers at the time would be very likely to leave it out.

and to win back from him all that he had wrongfully seized. Never was there an assembly of which we should better wish to know the formal acts. We ask above all, Was the coming Patriciate of the King spoken of? Was the name of the Emperor uttered? We know only the result. The Lombard war was agreed on, and thereby the first step was taken in that interference of the Frankish power in the affairs of Italy which was presently to change the face of the world.

The war was decreed; but the full Frankish power was not ready to move for several months. The King kept his Easter at Quierzy. It has been commonly held that it was there that the promises made at Ponthion and at Berny were put into a written shape, and that Stephen then and there received from the King's hands the famous grant, the gift of Pippin. But there is really no evidence to show that any such grant was at that time made in a written form. It is plain that such a grant, a grant of territories which Pippin did not possess, could at most have taken the shape of a promise conditional on success, and that much had already been given both by the King at Ponthion and by the nation at Berny. The evidence really goes to show that, whether the King's mere promise was set down in writing or not, the first formal document that could be called a grant was drawn up at a later time, when Pippin had come nearer to the real possession of what he granted[1]. Several months, of whose events we have no detail, must have been taken up in warlike preparations, as the Frankish march for Italy did not actually begin till August[2]; and when the King and his host did set forth, they were fresh from an august ceremony indeed.

We might have deemed that all that could be needed to make Pippin king over the whole Frankish nation had been done in the great rite of Soissons three years before.

[1] See Appendix, Note 4.
[2] See Appendix, Note 6.

He had been chosen to kingship by the voice of the nation; he had been admitted to the kingly office alike in the older and the newer fashion; the King of the Franks had been heaved on the shield amid the shouts of the Frankish warriors, and the fathers of the Frankish Church had poured the holy oil on the head of the Lord's Anointed. What could be lacking in such an act either on the spiritual or on the temporal side? But it was after all only an act of the Frankish Church and nation; and with the new nations that were spreading abroad it might seem that an act of the Frankish Church and nation would gain further strength if it were confirmed by the act of him whom men were beginning to look on as the common shepherd of all Churches and nations. Moreover it might be held that the unction of Soissons was personal to Pippin himself. He had himself become a king, but it had not been expressly declared that his whole line had become kingly. The Merwings had vanished into monasteries; Childeric at least was dead; but it had just been shown that a monastery was not necessarily a tomb that closed for ever over its inmates. The elder brother of the King had shown himself as one risen from the dead, if not as the enemy of his brother, yet at least as the opponent of his brother's policy. The monk of Monte Casino, even though he had come back into the world in the character of a Lombard envoy, was not likely himself to disturb the kingship of his brother[1]. But the monk of Monte Casino had left a son or sons behind him in the Frankish land; they, Karlings, Arnulfings, no less than the King and his sons, representatives of the elder line of the great Mayors, might some day set up a claim to some share in the kingship of the Frankish people, if not against the reigning King, yet against the sons whom he might leave behind him. It was well to take advantage of so excep-

[1] I cannot believe, with Krosta (p. 15), that Karlmann had any designs on the kingdom for himself; but it was clearly expedient from Pippin's side to shut out all chances of his sons.

tional a state of things as the presence of the Pope as the guest of the Frankish king and nation, to have every question settled, to have every right confirmed, by an authority which none would venture to dispute. A second anointing of the King by the hands of the Pope, an anointing which should bestow the full grace of kingship, not only on the King himself but on all his sons who should come after him, was appointed to take place immediately before the host should begin its march (July 28, 754).

The place chosen for the rite was the house which Pippin honoured above all others, the house in which Stephen had found a home during his Frankish sojourn, the house which was beginning to be looked on as the ecclesiastical home of Frankish kingship. It was in the minster of Saint Denis that the rite of Soissons was to be repeated with yet greater authority. When the kingship of the Franks was for a while lost in the Western Empire of Rome, when again a fragment of it came forth in the shape of the local kingdom, first of Karolingia, then of modern France, other crowning-places were chosen, and Rheims, seat of the baptism of Chlodowig, became, before all other spots, the spiritual home of the kings of the new stock and the new kingdom. But if Rheims became the crowning-place of the kings, Saint Denis became their burying-place; and, when, after more than a thousand years, a Pope of Rome again came on Gaulish soil to take his part in the crowning of the master of a dominion as great as that of Pippin or of Pippin's son, it was not indeed Saint Denis itself, but the now metropolitan church of the neighbouring city which was chosen for that amazing rite. Again a new dynasty had to be inaugurated, and the first days of the Karlings were assuredly not forgotten in the first days of the Buonapartes. Saint Denis was so near to Paris that acts done there are sometimes spoken of as done at Paris, just as acts done at Westminster are spoken of as done at London. Paris at this moment came very near to being the head city of all Gaul and Germany. It was perhaps only the

personal tastes of the next Frankish king which kept it from fully becoming so.

It was then in the minster of Saint Denis, the holy place of the apostle of Gaul, the martyr of Aurelian's day whose personality became merged in that of the convert of Mars' Hill, that the King of the Franks, his Queen, and his sons, came to receive this specially solemn unction at the hands of the Pontiff. Further than the mere fact of the unction we have no details; we are not told the exact nature of the ceremony or how far the ritual followed by the Pope was the same as that which came into use somewhat later for the crowning and anointing of kings [1]. As at the first unction of Pippin, there is no mention of any ceremony at the unction, no placing of a crown on the head, no delivery of the sceptre. The heaving needed not to be repeated, the Pope had not come to renew old Frankish and heathen usages, but to give the new kingship a special Christian hallowing. That he gave in the form of a second unction; now, as at the earlier time, we are left uncertain whether the crowning is taken for granted or whether there was no crowning. The opposite omission is just as remarkable when we come to the Imperial crowning of Charles, a crowning, it would seem, unaccompanied by a second unction. Yet the repetition of a royal unction was no sacrilege. In this very case the King and Queen were anointed for the second time; it was only for their sons that the ceremony had the charm of perfect newness. But that the boys Charles and Karlmann shared in the unction of their parents was in truth the most important part of the ceremony; it was most likely the reason why the ceremony was gone through at all. At the age, it may be, of twelve years, perhaps at an age earlier still, Charles the Great became in name at least a king; his younger brother, hardly above five years old, shared his kingship with him. And not only did both the sons of Pippin become kings, but the Pope warned the whole

[1] See Norman Conquest, iii. 626.

Frankish nation, under the most solemn anathemas of the Church, never again to choose a king from any other stock but that of the direct descendants of Pippin[1]. A most important point was thus gained. The kingliness of the whole kin was asserted; the heathen sanctity of the Merwings passed away for ever before the Christian sanctity of the Karlings, the house chosen of the Lord, the house of which every living member, down well nigh to babes and sucklings, was declared to be for ever kingly and was hallowed with holy oil to the actual possession of the kingly office. We have said Karlings; yet just now the truer name would be *Pippinings*; there were Karlings in the land, perhaps present in the church of Saint Denis, whom the ban of Pope Stephen cut off from all hopes of kingship no less than the fallen Merwings. The eldest branch of the house of Charles the Hammer was cast aside. It was felt that that branch had become dangerous; the course taken by Karlmann had brought suspicion upon both himself and his sons. He himself was at least carefully watched; as for his sons, the second unction of Pippin had an accompaniment like that of the first. As then the last Merwings were shorn and sent into monasteries, so now such Karlings as were likely to stand in the way of the reigning branch, Drogo and his brother or brothers, were doomed to the same fate. It is a short but pithy entry in one of the Frankish annals that "Pope Stephen came from the city of Rome into Francia, and Karlmann after him, and his sons were shorn[2]."

Thus the house of Pippin and Arnulf, or at least one

[1] This comes from the famous Clausula at the end of Gregory of Tours, De Gloria Confessorum; "Et tali omnes interdictu et excommunicationis lege constrinxit, et nunquam de alterius lumbis regem in ævo præsumant eligere; sed ex ipsorum, quos et divina pietas exaltare dignata est, et sanctorum apostolorum intercessionibus per manus vicarii ipsorum beatissimi pontificis confirmare et consecrare disposuit." The Clausula is printed at p. 465 of Arndt and Krusch's edition of Gregory.

[2] Annales Petaviani, 753. See Appendix, Note 4.

branch of it, was definitely established as the kingly house of the Franks, instead of the elder house of Chlodowig. The main point is that the unction of the two sons of Pippin as well as their father declared the kingliness of the whole house. Every Karling now—it is hard to speak of *Pippinings*, and the two names came presently to mean the same—as every Merwing at an earlier time, was in some sort born a king. Not only one son, but all the sons, had a right to become actual reigning kings, at all events at the death of their father, and sooner, if their father thought good to make them reigning kings in his life-time. That is to say, the same evil was brought in again along with the new dynasty which had broken the kingdom in pieces in the time of the old. The joint mayoralty of Karlmann and Pippin had shown, perhaps more than any joint kingship could show, how deeply this notion of the right of all sons to a share in their father's inheritance had made its way into the mind of the Frankish nation. Pippin, by this act, consulted the interests of his family rather than the interests of his kingdom. But, whatever we say of his treatment of his nephews, we can hardly blame him for wishing to establish the kingly right of all his sons. The worst that can be said of him on this score is that he did not see further than other men, that he did not fully take in the evils to which the custom of divided kingship was sure to lead. The endless partitions of the Frankish kingdom among the sons of the kings fitted in with tendencies to division of other kinds, tendencies founded on differences of race, language, and geography to bring about the final break-up of that vast fabric of Frankish dominion which Pippin began to build up, and which his more renowned son finished. If the unity of the kingdom was an object, that would have been better sought even by leaving the succession in the chaotic state in which it was left among Goths and Lombards. The Gothic and the Lombard kingdoms each kept together as long as they lasted; they were overthrown by foreign

conquerors; they did not fall to pieces of themselves. The occasional murder of a king, even by his own brother, caused less of disunion, less of bloodshed, than came when the sons of Lewis the Pious meted out their father's realm by the sword.

But another title, another office, was bestowed in the same ceremony at Saint Denis. Pippin and his sons with him were made, not only Frankish kings (and Pippin was king before), but Roman patricians. The two titles, the two offices, are brought into a strange connexion with one another, as if they were bestowed by a single act. Yet no two titles, no two offices, could be more distinct, more utterly, in idea, unlike one another. The kingship of the Franks could come from no source but the gift of the Frankish nation; the papal unction could but hallow with the blessing of the Church an act which the Frankish nation had already done. The Roman patriciate, according to all earlier precedent, could be the gift of none but the Roman Emperor. While the King of the Franks knew no superior on earth—some kings of the Franks had thought it somewhat strange that they should have a superior in Heaven[1]—a Roman patrician was, in the very nature of things, the subject and servant of the master who made him. The name in strictness implied simple rank and dignity rather than office. The highest rank and the highest offices would naturally go together. The Exarchs of Italy and Africa, the Prætor of Sicily, were pretty certain to be men of patrician rank; but the not uncommon phrase of "Patrician of Sicily," the phrase used, I believe, only once before this time, of "Patrician of the Romans[2]," are both mere descriptions of the officers spoken of. The use of the name is like the use of such names as

[1] See the story of the last words of the first Chlotachar, Greg. Tur. iv. 21.

[2] Paul the Deacon (iv. 60) once applies the words "Patricius Romanorum" to the Exarch Gregory, but this is merely a description,

Duke, Prince, Under-king, this very title of Patrician[1], to mark the positions of those officers of the Frankish realm who called themselves simply Mayors of the Palace. But from the day of the unction in Saint Denis, "Patrician of the Romans" does become a formal title, and is used as such by the Frankish kings till the Patrician is merged in the Emperor who could make patricians. In the case of a Frankish king some such definition might be specially needed. In the Burgundian part of the Frankish dominion the title of Patrician had long lingered on from the days of Roman rule, as it revived again when Burgundy had once more kings of its own[2]. It was needful to distinguish the Roman patriciate about to be bestowed on the King from this purely local patriciate which might be held by his own subjects. He was to be King of the Franks and Patrician of the Romans, to mark at once that his patriciate lay altogether outside the Frankish dominions and that his kingship lay altogether within them.

But we are now brought to look the question in the face to which the whole course of our story has been leading us step by step. In what sense, and by what authority, was it that the Frankish king and his two sons became

not a formal title. So in Fredegar (69) the Exarch Isaac—we have his tomb at Ravenna—appears as "patricius Romanorum," and so does the last Exarch Eutychios in the Chronicle of Salerno (Pertz, iii. 471); but this is not earlier than the second half of the tenth century. It was doubtless suggested by the application of the title to the Frankish kings. One might have thought that by that time the name might have been forgotten; only there is (see Ducange in Patricius, and Gregorovius, ii. 275) a very elaborate form for the creation of a patrician which seems to belong to the time of Otto the Third. We find the "patricius Siciliæ" in a letter of Hadrian to Charles (Mon. Car. 202) in 778, and the "patricius de Sicilia" in Einhard, Ann. 799. In 788 he has more accurately, "Theodorus patricius, Siciliæ præfectus."

[1] As by Gregory the Second, writing to Boniface; Jaffé, Mon. Mog. 86.

[2] There is a Burgundian patrician as late as 642; Fred. 89. Ducange (in voc.) traces the title much later, and helps us to a patrician in the revived Burgundy of Boso.

Patricians of the Romans? Different answers to that question would likely enough have been given by persons all of whom had an interest in the matter. We must again call to mind the main facts of the story which we have gone through, the facts which are essential to the understanding of the case, but which are commonly passed by as if they were of no moment. We must again remember that up to the moment of Stephen's setting forth from Pavia, King, Pope, and Emperor had all been in full outward friendship. The Pope had gone to Pavia as himself an Imperial representative, to work with an Imperial Silentiary, and seemingly with the Frankish envoys who were also there, in bringing a joint diplomatic action to bear on the mind of the Lombard king. We cannot doubt that Stephen took his journey into Gaul with the full knowledge and consent of the Emperor or his trusted representative. And it seems most natural to go on to infer that, when the Pope took upon himself to bestow a title which hitherto only the Emperors had bestowed, he did so with the Emperor's knowledge and consent; the Emperor at least would have said that he did so by his authority as his representative. Casting aside all prepossessions and looking simply at the recorded facts which we have gone through, the strong likelihood seems to be that Pippin was made Patrician with the good will of Constantine, and that Constantine at least held that he was made Patrician by his authority. But it does not necessarily follow that King, Pope, and Emperor would understand the act in the same sense. There is no hint of the presence of any Imperial representative at the Frankish court at this time, except so far as the Pope himself might count as an Imperial representative. The Pope had things very much in his own power; he could shape his acts and choose his words in a way which might bear one meaning for himself, while it might bear quite different meanings to both King and Emperor.

From the Imperial side there would be nothing the least

amazing even in a formal commission authorizing the King of the Franks, in the name of the Emperor, as a Roman officer, with the rank of Patrician, to act against the King of the Lombards, for the recovery of the lost lands of the Empire. Those last words could, as should be convenient, either be confined to the Exarchate or be extended to the whole Lombard kingdom. Such a commission, such a patriciate, in the hands of Pippin would have much in common with the commissions granted first to Odowakar and then to Theodoric[1]. It had more in common with the commission granted to Theodoric. In the case of Odowakar the Emperor simply recognized an existing fact. The barbarian king—it is hard to find any more exact title for him—was already master of Italy; the Emperor simply gave his position a legal confirmation. But Theodoric was actually sent against Odowakar, exactly as Pippin was sent against Aistulf. Precedents could even be found among earlier Frankish kings. We have seen long ago that there is strong reason to believe that Childeric and Chlodowig first appeared in Roman Gaul as Roman officers, and the consulship of Chlodowig was a direct precedent for the patriciate of Pippin. In all these cases the Imperial policy is obvious; wherever it seems doubtful whether the substance of power can for the moment be kept, it is well to keep at least the shadow, in the hope that, as sometimes happens in human affairs, the keeping of the shadow may help towards the winning back of the substance. A people that gives up the slightest form which savours of freedom, a prince who gives up the slightest form which savours of authority, is doing damage to his own cause. By grants and commissions of this kind, the Emperors could lose nothing and they might gain something. It was better for Constantine's purposes that Pippin should reign in the Exarchate or in Rome itself than that Aistulf should. Pippin was a friend and Aistulf

[1] I see that this analogy has also occurred to Gregorovius, ii. 286, Bk. iv. cap. ii. § 3.

was an enemy; it was possible that Pippin might acknowledge some kind of supremacy in the Empire; it was certain that Aistulf would acknowledge none. Aistulf might possibly go on to attack those parts of Italy which were still under direct Imperial rule. Pippin, as an officer, or even as an ally, of the Empire, was not dangerous in those parts. We shall see presently that Constantine believed, or at least officially professed to believe, that Pippin would give up his Italian conquests to him. That was the meaning which he put on the phrase of recovering lands for the Roman Republic. But when the Emperor found that Pippin put another meaning on those words, that—perhaps without denying some outward overlordship—Pippin had bestowed the immediate possession elsewhere, he did not make that any ground of quarrel with the Frankish king. All this seems to show that Constantine was playing very much the same part as his predecessors in the like case. He was ready for all chances; he felt that by favouring Frankish intervention in Italy, by making the Frankish king, in name at least, an Imperial officer, nothing could possibly be lost, while something might conceivably be gained.

But, if these were the views of the Emperor, it was not in the least likely that the Pope would set them thus clearly before the King. We may be quite sure that Stephen did not say anything to Pippin, as Gregory the Third had said to Pippin's father, about openly throwing off the authority of the Emperor and putting that of the ruler of the Franks in its stead. We may be sure that he said nothing tending to any open hostility with the Empire. Stephen, if pressed, could not have denied that Constantine was his sovereign, while to Pippin, besides the vague majesty of the Empire, Constantine was at any rate a foreign prince with whom he was on friendly terms. The policy of the Pope was to put all questions about the Empire and its rights as far as possible out of sight, neither to deny them nor to insist upon them. He could

hardly directly deny that the patriciate was an Imperial gift; but he would say as little as he could about it from that side, and he would say as much as he could about it on the side of the duties to which he held that it called the Frankish king, the defence of the Roman Republic in his sense, the people, the Church, the Bishop, of the elder Rome. And if the Emperor might have his precedents, the Pope might find his much more modern precedents, he might find them in Pippin's own land, in his own house, in his own life. What Stephen was aiming at was to cut down the Imperial authority in Italy to the smallest possible measure of real power without formally casting it aside. That is, he was aiming at putting the prince whom he did not deny to be his sovereign in much the same position in which a prince who was not denied to be the sovereign of the Franks had been a few years before. That Frankish precedent may well have been before his eyes; the policy of statesmen shifts according to the change of time, place, and circumstance, and it might suit Stephen's purposes, it might even suit those of Pippin, to set up in Italy the same state of things which Zachary had so lately helped Pippin to sweep away in Gaul and Germany. But an Emperor cut down to the measure of authority of the Merowingian king must have, like a Merowingian king, some one to take his place, some one to speak and act, perhaps not on his behalf, but perhaps in his name, at any rate in his stead. The Mayor of the Palace could hardly have a place found for him in an Italy which was ruled, even in form, from Constantinople; but the title and rank of the patriciate stood ready, well fitted, alike in its dignity and in its vagueness, to mark one who was to hold the substance of power while its name was to be left to another. Earlier Emperors had had their patricians, patricians sometimes mightier than themselves, patricians who had set Emperors up and who had put them down again. This time there was to be no formal setting up or putting down; there was to be

a quiet setting aside; the Patrician was not to be the master of a present Emperor, but the substitute—we can hardly say the lieutenant—of an absent one. And the man of all others fitted for the post was close at hand. Pippin, used to the part of Mayor of the Palace under a nominal king, was called before all other men to play the part of Patrician under a nominal Emperor. Pippin was indeed now a king, the mightiest of Christian kings, the one alone who, in extent of dominion, might pass for a rival of the Emperor himself. Yet even to the King of the Franks, the place of Patrician of the Romans—Advocate, to bring in a later word—of the Roman Church, could be no lessening of dignity. And the Pope would not forget that, as Rome was so much further from Compiègne and Berny than it was from Ravenna, the independence of his own Church and city would be distinctly increased. The Patrician would never be able to wield the same practical power which the Exarchs had wielded; he would never be able to play the part of a master towards the special see of the Apostle in the way in which mayors and kings could play it towards either ancient Rheims or new-born Mainz. To invest Pippin with the patriciate would suit the objects both of the Pope and the Emperor; only they would look on him as being invested with it in two different senses; they would above all look on him as being bound by its acceptance to two quite different courses with regard to Ravenna and the other lands which formed the last Lombard conquest.

Pippin meanwhile, we may believe, accepted the patriciate with somewhat vague notions as to what he was accepting. But we may be sure that he felt that it bound him to do something for the Pope and that it did not bind him to do anything against the Emperor. Yet the very way in which the bestowal of the patriciate was mixed up with the kingly unction would tend to put out of sight the character of the patriciate as a mere rank under the Emperor. The consul Chlodowig had been hailed as

Augustus and had with his consulship put on something of Imperial pomp[1]. The patrician Pippin never reached that height of glory. But the close union of Frankish kingship and Roman patriciate in one person, the call on the King and Patrician to play the first part in the affairs of Italy, was a distinct step towards the time when patriciate should merge in Empire and when kingship should be held as a secondary place alongside of Empire. The position taken by Pippin was a kind of inferior degree, the rank of a bachelor, an esquire, a deacon, before the full dignity that was to come hereafter. And we must not forget that one was there who was to go through all degrees in his own person. The boy Charles, who, perhaps hardly knowing what the names meant, became that day King and Patrician within the minster of Saint Denis, lived, six and forty years later, to hear, echoing through the thick-set columns of the old Saint Peter's, the shout which hailed him as a patrician, more than king, as Charles Augustus, crowned by God, the great and peace-giving Emperor of the Romans.

So Pippin and his two boys, a triple cord, were Kings of the Franks and Patricians of the Romans. Bertrada, twice anointed Queen, could not share in the Roman honours of her husband and her sons. What those Roman honours really meant was left carefully undefined. It is perhaps not irreverent to say that Pope Stephen took in both the King and the Emperor. He gained his immediate object, Frankish help against the Lombard. Like the Emperor, he could not lose, and he might gain. In the end he gained largely, that is, if it was a gain for the Bishops of Rome to be numbered, first practically, then formally, among the princes of the world. The Emperor assuredly did not gain; but we can hardly say that he directly lost. His case in Italy after Pippin's coming was not worse than it had been immediately before. We may even doubt whether the Empire really lost in the long

[1] Greg. Tur. ii. 38.

run. The loss of the Latin provinces, like the loss of the Eastern province, cut the bounds of the Empire short, but we can well believe that its real life and strength were quickened by the loss of limbs which had no true oneness with the main body. As the Roman Empire came more and more nearly to mean the lands occupied by the artificial Greek nation, it began, unwittingly we may be sure, to put on something of national feeling and national strength. And towards this process the Italian campaigns of Pippin helped not a little. They were the beginnings of the Empire of his son, and the Empire of his son of course implied that the last formal traces of allegiance on the part of Latin Italy to the Emperors reigning at Constantinople were altogether cast aside. Pippin in short set forth, not well knowing whither he went. In truth he went to begin a work which presently led to what a later time spoke of as the translation of the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks; he went to win a position for himself, his house, and his people, which grew by easy steps into the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

The action of Pope Zachary in approving the first election and anointing of Pippin, and the personal action of Pope Stephen in Pippin's second unction, were events which had so much in common that they were sure to be confounded by writers who were at all removed from the scene either by time or place. Our one East-Roman account, one to which we have already referred, comes from Theophanês, who was contemporary or nearly so, dying sixty-three years after Pippin's second unction. His graphic picture of the last Merwings is given in a narrative in which Pope Stephen, fleeing from Aistulf, seeks shelter in Gaul with Pippin Mayor of the Palace, whom he presently ordains king [1], having absolved Pippin

[1] Theoph. Chron. 619, ed. Bonn; *ὁ μὲν οὖν Στέφανος τῇ ὠμότητι τοῦ Ἀστούλφου βιασθεὶς καὶ ἀβουλίᾳ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐπιτραπεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ*

and all the Franks from their oaths to his predecessor [1], who is accordingly shorn and sent into a monastery. More remarkably still, Pippin is confounded with his father, and comes in for the credit of his great exploit. It was he who led the Franks to meet the great host of the Arabs who had conquered Spain. It was he who slew their leader Abd-al-Rahman, with the multitude of his following that could not be numbered, by the banks of a river which he somewhat strangely speaks of as Eridanos [2]. King Pippin had two sons, whose names appear in their Greek form as Karoulos and Karoulomagnos—the latter a form to be remembered [3].

On the other hand, a Frankish writer of the next age has a tale to tell which, though purely mythical in its statement of events, still sets forth with great life and truth the real state of the case as touching the change from the old dynasty to the new [4]. Before Pippin became king, Pope Stephen came into the land of the Franks to ask of him, as their prince, to help him against the Lombard king Aistulf, who had seized the cities and lands of Saint Peter [5]. The prince makes answer to the Pope, "I

ἀπελθεῖν ἐς Φραγγικήν, καὶ ποιῆσαι ὃ ἂν δύνηται, ἐλθὼν χειροτονεῖ τὸν Πιπῖνον, ἄνδρα τὸ τηνικαῦτα λίαν εὐδόκιμον, προϊστάμενον ἅμα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥηγός. There is a sad confusion in the story of Theophanês between the action of Zachary and the action of Gregory, but it is most singular that he should have preserved such a bit of detail as the consent of Aistulf to Stephen's journey (see above, p. 126). John the Silentiary must have left a tradition of it at Constantinople.

[1] It is curious that this point should have been noticed only by the Greek writer Heseyn (p. 620); *λύσαντος αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπιορκίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν ῥῆγα τοῦ αὐτοῦ Στεφάνου.*

[2] Ib.; *συναναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον παρὰ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν ποταμόν.* Here is a double confusion. The battle of Tours is mixed up with Charles' warfare at Arles and Avignon, and *Rhodanos* is further confounded with *Eridanos.*

[3] *οὗτος ὁ Πιπῖνος δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν Κάρουλον καὶ Καρολόμαγνον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.*

[4] See Erchamberti Breviarium, Pertz, ii. 328.

[5] "Pipinus namque antequam ad regem sublimaretur, venit papa de Roma nomine Stephanus ad fines Francorum, ut prædictum prin-

have the king for my lord; I know not what he may decide in this matter[1]." The Pope goes and makes the same petition to the King in the same words. The King answers, "Do you not see, Pope, that I have no possession of kingly dignity or power? How can I do any of these things[2]?" "True," says the Pope, "this is just as it should be, because you are not worthy of any such honour." He goes back to the prince Pippin and says, "I command you by the authority of Saint Peter, shear this man and send him into a monastery; why should he cumber the earth, for he is of no use to himself or to any one else[3]." The King is shorn and sent into a monastery. Then the Pope says to the Prince, "The Lord and the authority of Saint Peter have chosen you that you should be prince and king over the Franks[4]." So he at once ordained and blessed him to king, and hallowed also to kings his two young sons, Charles and Karlmann. And King Pippin promised that he would do in all things as seemed good to the Pope, as he presently did[5]. We need not stay to point out the confusion of this story, as regards times and actors; but it is after all nothing more than what really happened thrown into a dramatic form.

cipem peteret quatenus ei causa auxilii fuisset apud Haistolfum regem Longobardorum, quia de sancto Petro tam civitates quam cetera et fines habuisset possessos."

[1] "Habeo dominum regem; ignoro quid inde vellet definire." It is a little hard to translate "dominum regem" in this sentence.

[2] "Videsne, papa, quod dignitatis regiæ ac potestatis non fungor."

[3] "Ex auctoritate sancti Petri tibi præcipio; tonde hunc et destina in monasterium; at quid terram occupat? nec sibi nec aliis utilis est."

[4] "Statim tonso et in monasterium retruso, tunc papa ad principem, Te elegit Dominus et auctoritas sancti Petri, ut sis princeps et rex super Francos."

[5] "Ille Pipinus rex se omnia facturum spopondit, sicut illi complacuisset; sicut et postea fecit."

§ 4. *The First Italian Expedition of Pippin.* 754.

And now the King of the Franks and Patrician of the Romans was to go forth, fresh from his anointing in Saint Denis, to fulfil the duties which, as he was taught, specially belonged to him in his Roman character. The host set forth, Pope Stephen going in the company of his chosen defender. With them went Queen Bertrada—her two boys, now themselves kings and patricians, are not spoken of—and Pippin's brother the monk Karlmann, the last no doubt under some measure of restraint. The army marched to Lyons, and thence to the rival metropolis of Vienne. In the city of the Allobroges two of the travellers were left, one who could take no personal share in the expedition, another who wished it no good will. Bertrada was left behind, to remain at least comparatively near to the seat of war; with her was left Karlmann, already sick, sick at heart we may believe, at the failure of his journey and his pleadings. Where the Queen was quartered at Vienne we are not told; for Karlmann a home was found in one of its monasteries[1]. The city in those days lacked neither palaces nor abbeys. In the days when Vienne had been a seat of Emperors, their august dwelling had stood in the northern part of the city, not far from the foot of the fortified hills of Sospolium and Pompeianum, in later nomenclature of Solesmes and of Arnould[2], nearer to the small

[1] In the Life of Stephen the disposal of Karlmann becomes a subject of deep counsel between the Pope and the King. "Papa cum denominato Francorum rege consilio inito juxta id quod præfatus Carolomannus Deo se devoverat monachicam degere vitam in monasterio eum Viennæ in Francia collocaverunt" (Muratori, iii. Pt. 1, p. 169. The best reading as usual is to be found in the note). The Annales Laurissenses (755) have "Carlomannus monachus Viennæ civitate remansit una cum Bertraclane Regina infirmus languebat dies multos et obiit in pace."

[2] For the topography of Vienne see "Recherches sur les Antiquités de la Ville de Vienne," par Nicolas Chorier [Vienne, 1846]. He has a good deal to say about the singular names of the hills. Of the

stream of the Gâre than to the mighty Rhone itself. The Prætorian palace, afterwards a home of the Burgundian kings, stood nearer to the great river, nearer to the metropolitan minster of Saint Maurice, the church of the Primate of Primates; but nearest of all to the abiding temple of Augustus and Livia, the church of Our Lady of Life. Here we may conceive that the Frankish Queen waited for the return of her husband from beyond the mountains. Of the many monasteries within and around the walls of Vienne, we should be best pleased to place him in the abbey of Saint Peter, whose ancient church may well date from a time even as old as his day. There, or elsewhere in Vienne, the sick man passed the short remnant of his days. He was perhaps comforted by the company of the monks of Monte Casino who had come with him. Perhaps, as they were themselves clearly under suspicion, they were kept apart from him and from one another. It is certain that they were kept in some measure of restraint within the Frankish dominions. For three years later (785) Pope Stephen, at the request of Abbot Optatus, writes to Pippin about their release[1]. As for Karlmann himself, as he did not die till the next year had begun[2], he must have

many monasteries of Vienne the choice would seem to lie between Saint Peter and Saint Andrew the Low. The early Romanesque work of Saint Peter might seem to give it the preference.

[1] In his last letter to Pippin (Jaffé, Mon. Car. 67), Stephen writes, "Petiit nobis Optatus religiosus abba venerandi monasterii sancti Benedicti pro monachis suis qui cum tuo germano profecti sunt, ut eos absolvere jubeas. Sed qualiter tua fuerit voluntas, ita de eis exponere jubeas."

[2] The date in the Life of Stephen, p. 169, seems exact; "Post aliquantos dies divina vocatione de hac luce migravit anno Domini 755." Einhard must therefore have been led astray when he says, "Priusquam rex de Italia reverteretur febre correptus diem obiit." This comes of his putting the whole expedition in 755. He adds, "cujus corpus jussu Regis ad monasterium sancti Benedicti in quo monaticum habitum susceperat relatum est." The Moissac Chronicler gives his death the right date, and speaks of him with great respect; "Eodem anno (that in which disputes again arose between Stephen

seen, or at least heard of, his brother's victorious return from his Italian warfare. At that brother's bidding the body of the Duke of the Franks, the monk of Monte Casino, the eldest son of Charles the Hammer, was sent in a richly adorned coffin to the holy home of his last choice, where his memory was long cherished by the brotherhood of Saint Benedict and the strange tale of his life was adorned with many legends.

Yet another son of Charles Martel was with the army, one of those sons of an unknown mother who was not deemed dangerous like Grifo and Karlmann himself[1]. This was Jerome, a man of whom we hear little, but who was clearly high in his brother's favour and trust. We know not whether he was sent on any of the repeated embassies which still went to Aistulf at the special request of the Pope[2] who was eager to hinder the shedding of Christian blood. The Pope's own letters went with them, once more calling on the Lombard king to restore the rights of the Church of God and the Republic of the Romans. We long for a Lombard teller of the tale; none could have told it better than Paul the Deacon; but his mouth was stopped by his later duty to his Frankish masters, and his pen dropped from his hand when he had drawn his picture of that King Liudprand who was ever at peace with the Franks[3]. In our Roman account—our Frankish guide keeps himself chiefly to matters of war—

and Aistulf, that is 755) beatæ memoriæ Carlomannus monachus migravit ad dominum."

[1] The presence of Hieronymus and Jerome will appear a little later. Hahn has an Appendix about him (p. 154). He was not a churchman as one might have thought from his name, but had a wife and three sons, two of whom became abbots, and one of whom bore the name of Fulrad, most likely after his present companion.

[2] The missions and letters are recorded in the Life of Stephen (169). In the Pope's last letter Aistulf is adjured in the most solemn way "ut pacifice sine ulla sanguinis effusione propria sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ et reipublicæ Romanorum redderet jura."

[3] See the very last words of Paul's History. Liudprand was "maxima semper cura Francorum Avarumque pacem custodiens."

the deaf adder of Pavia remains deaf to all charmers; sometimes he answers to never a word, sometimes he answers, but with scorn[1]. He will let the Pope go in safety back to Rome; that shall be all. At last the army reached Maurienne, with its church of Saint John Baptist whose name still cleaves to the name of the city. At this point, the last city of the Frankish dominions on the Gaulish side of the Alps, we may well stop to remember how the frontier between the dominions of Pippin and of Aistulf was then drawn. Ever since the days of good King Guntchramn those Kings of the Franks who reigned in Burgundy reigned on both sides of the Alps[2]. Both the vale of Susa and the vale of Aosta were Frankish territory, and that of Aosta remains to this day, in speech and in architecture, Burgundian and not Italian. It is just at this moment that this piece of geography becomes of most practical importance. The distinction died out in after ages when the princes of Savoy ruled on both sides of the mountains, and when it no longer mattered whether this or that fief which they held of the Empire belonged in strictness to the Italian or to the Burgundian kingdom. Just now the fact that Pippin's kingdom took in Susa was of no small moment. Aistulf, with all his aggressive disposition, had kept within his own territories; he had not gone beyond the pass east of Susa which parted the two kingdoms[3]. It was perhaps from Maurienne that Pippin and Stephen made their last attempt to move the heart of

[1] Chron. Moissac, Pertz, i. 293; "Haistulphus in superbia elatus convitia etiam in præfatum pontificem per inepta verba imponens nihil ei se facere promittens nisi viam se præbere quatenus ad propria remearet." Pippin sent his message, according to this writer, "Alpes transiens," that is, we may suppose, when he was drawing near to them. As the Biographer seems to imply three messages, they may well have gone from Lyons, Vienne, and Maurienne. The Biographer does not attend much to Gaulish geography.

[2] See on Aosta, Historical and Architectural Sketches, p. 305.

[3] This is, I think, clear from the two accounts in the Biographer and the Continuator, as we shall see presently.

Aistulf[1]; at any rate the church of Saint John was made the scene of solemn rites and special prayers, in which Aistulf was not forgotten. Pippin had, at some stage of the negotiation, promised gifts to the King of the Lombards, doubtless on condition of his submitting to carry out the cessions demanded of him. Now that all such hopes were found vain, the gifts which should have gone to Aistulf were, as the King's offering, in Saint John's church, handed over by Pippin to the Pope, to be disposed of at his good pleasure[2].

Meanwhile the King of the Lombards was making ready to withstand the invasion that threatened him. Our Frankish guide seems seized with a Roman spirit when he tells us how Aistulf made every military preparation, how he got together weapons and engines with the wicked purpose of defending the fruits of his own wicked aggressions against the Republic and the Apostolic See of Rome[3]. Before Pippin set forth from Maurienne, Aistulf had marched to the frontier, and there stood ready to defend the pass which parted the vale of Susa from his dominions[4]. But it was no light matter for the Frankish army to reach that extreme point of the Frankish territory. Mont Cenis lay between, and Mont Cenis was hard to be crossed. A chosen band under some of the chief men of the Franks was sent in advance to occupy Susa and its valley, while the King with the body of the army crossed the mountain[5]. Aistulf,

[1] This would be one recorded by the Biographer, p. 169 (col. 2); but the various readings make the arrangement a little hard.

[2] Vit. Steph. 169; "Munera quæ Aistulfo per missos suos dare promiserat Deo offerens præ manibus sui viri dispersanda tribuit." This comes from the reading in the note.

[3] Cont. Fred. 120; "Cum telis et machinis et multo apparatu quod nequiter contra rempublicam et sedem Romanam apostolicam admiserat nefaria nitebatur defendere."

[4] So I understand the Continuator, 120; "Usque ad Clusas quæ cognominatur Valle Sausana veniens, ibi cum omni exercitu suo castrametatus est." This is outside the vale of Susa, just within his own territory, as appears from what follows.

[5] Vit. Steph. u. s.; "Præmittens ante suum occursum aliquos ex

thinking their small numbers would make them an easy prey, made an immediate attack through the pass[1]. We have no Lombard picture; but we read how the pious Franks, putting their trust, not in their own strength, but in the help of God and Saint Peter, and calling on the name of the Apostle whose rights they were marching to defend, met the far greater numbers of the Lombards with all daring[2]. The fight was hard, but presently the Lombards gave way; their King fled, leaving most of the chief men of his realm, his dukes and counts and elders, dead among the mountains, while he himself, it is said, escaped only by slipping down a steep rock[3]. With a small party only and unarmed Aistulf made his way to Pavia[4]; the hardest part of King Pippin's work was done before King Pippin himself had come up to have a hand in it.

Meanwhile the King and the main body of the Frankish army crossed the mountains, and made their way to the Lombard camp, pitched on the Lombard side of the passes.

suis proceribus, et cum eis exercituales viros ad custodiendum proprias Francorum clusas." What exact place is meant is clear from the Continuator, who has more to say about the difficulty of crossing the mountain, but tells us how in the end "usque in valle Sausana pervenerunt." The Frankish detachment was inside the vale of Susa; the Lombards just outside.

[1] Vit. Steph. u. s.; "Audiens ... parvos fuisse Francos illos qui ad custodiam propriarum venerant clusarum, fidens in sua ferocitate, subito aperiens clusas." The small numbers of the Franks are referred to several times in Stephen's letters to Pippin. See Mon. Car. p. 39 (Ep. 7), and specially in the mouth of Saint Peter himself, p. 59 (Ep. 10).

[2] The Continuator, 120, here waxes eloquent; "Non suis auxiliis nec suis viribus liberare se putabant, set Deum invocant et beatum Petrum apostolum adjutorem rogant." Saint Peter himself speaks of the help he gave them; "In omnibus vestris necessitatibus, dum me deprecati estis, auxiliatus sum; et victoriam per Dei virtutem vobis de inimicis vestris tribui" (Mon. Car. p. 59, Ep. 10).

[3] Cont. Fred. u. s.; "Duces, comites, vel omnes majores natu gentis Langobardorum, in eo prælio omnes amisit, et ipse quodam morte rupis vix lapsus evasit."

[4] "Cum paucis," says the Continuator, "cum aliquantis," the Biographer.

There they found the tents of the King and his army full of rich spoils, gold and silver and other goodly things which the defeated army had left behind in its flight[1]. They then marched, harrying and burning as they went, till they came near to Pavia. There they pitched their camp and laid siege to the royal city. The siege was not long; Aistulf, seeing that he had no hope of resistance, sought for peace through some of the clergy and leaders of the Franks, and the Pope, wishing, as before, to avoid bloodshed, was earnest with the King, as far as might be, to spare the suppliant[2]. The most Christian King Pippin listened; this one epithet or title, among the many superlatives of the Biographer, lived on to become the standing epithet of the kings who in after-days ruled over a part of Pippin's kingdom. Our Frankish guide records, seemingly with a little amazement, that Pippin, the merciful king, of his great mercy, allowed Aistulf to live and reign[3]. Pippin was certainly not disposed to harshness, and he had never pressed harshness to the length of bloodshed. Moreover the Patrician of the Romans, the champion of the Roman Republic, may possibly have known that it was not the manner of the Romans in old times to bring down any land to the form of a province, or to deliver its king to death on the day of triumph, till at least a revolt and

[1] Vit. Steph. u. s.; "Ipsi vero Franci introientes clusas cunctum fossatum Longobardorum post peractam cædem abstulerant, spolia multa auferentes." (It is a little later that the Continuator describes the plunder of the camp, and the "multos thesauros tam auri et argenti vel alia ornamenta quam plurima"; but he must mean the same time.) That is, the main body of the Frankish army passes through the vale of Susa, and finds the forsaken Lombard camp just beyond it.

[2] The Continuator brings out the action of the "sacerdotes et optimates Francorum"; the Biographer is strong on the intercession of the Pope.

[3] The King is "Christianissimus" and "benignissimus"; but then the Pope is "beatissimus" and "coangelicus (ἰσαπόστολος)." The Continuator is more really emphatic; "Rex Pippinus, clemens ut erat, misericordia motus, vitam et regnum ei concessit."

a second conquest had proved and avenged their disloyalty. A treaty was drawn up, a treaty, we are told, between Romans, Franks, and Lombards[1]. Never should we be better pleased to have the exact text of the document, above all to know in what words the Roman party to the treaty was described. Did the new titles of the Patrician find their way into the instrument, and what place did he take in his Roman character? Did his name appear alongside or instead of that of the old Imperial head of the Republic, and how did he stand with regard to its now swiftly growing papal head? But however matters stood between Romans and Lombards, between Romans and Franks, it is certain that between Franks and Lombards the treaty was not a treaty on equal terms; it was what the old Roman jurisprudence called a *fœdus iniquum*. The Lombard had to respect the majesty of the Frank[2]. King Aistulf bound himself to restore what he had taken, to make good all wrongs done to the Roman Church and the apostolic see. He bound himself both by a written document—a clause no doubt of the treaty—and by the most solemn oaths to give up Ravenna and other cities. He bound himself never again to do any hostile acts against the apostolic see of Rome or the Republic[3]. He paid, it is said in one account, to King Pippin a sum of thirty thousand *solidi*[4]. All this might have been done without giving up his position as an independent sovereign. But Aistulf did more. We may remember that Frankish diplomacy had always kept alive some dim tradition that the King of the Lombards was in some way bound to tribute or service to the King of the Franks. These vague claims

[1] "Inter Romanos, Francos, et Longobardos," says the Biographer. See Appendix, Note 7.

[2] In the old Roman formula, "Majestatem populi Romani comiter colunto."

[3] See Appendix, Note 7.

[4] The sum comes from the Moissac Annals. The Continuator mentions only "multa munera" both to the King and to his great men.

were now put into a definite shape. Aistulf formally acknowledged the Frankish superiority. By oaths and by hostages—forty of the chief men of Lombardy—he bound himself never to depart from his Frankish allegiance, perhaps even to pay a yearly tribute of five thousand *solidi*[1]. So the Roman and Frankish writers tell us. We again ask, more earnestly than ever, Why has the Lombard Deacon failed us at such a moment?

It is at this stage that we can first say for certain that Pippin did something, that he put his hand to something in writing, which could be spoken of as a gift to the see of Rome. That he did so in a fuller way at a later stage, when he could be more truly said to give, there is no doubt. But there is evidence that he did something of the kind now, while there is no evidence that he did anything of the kind at Quierzy or elsewhere in Gaul. He may have issued a separate document; but the words of our single notice of the fact would seem to be satisfied by Pippin's assent to the clause by which Aistulf had bound himself to give up the disputed cities. To give, in the strictest sense, was not yet in Pippin's power. Pope Stephen, in his letters, seems to delight in bringing in words directly implying a gift[2]; but the soberer language of his Biographer describes Pippin as merely giving orders that the treaty should be drawn up in terms which should satisfy the Pope[3]. And again, to whom did he give? The

[1] Cont. Fred. u. s.; "Sacramenta et obsides ibidem docet. ut nunquam a Francorum ditione se abstraheret." All the numbers come from Moissac. The Continuator does not mention the tribute till after the second campaign. Dahn (Urgeschichte, iii. 890) throws some doubts on this vassalage of Aistulf, on the ground that, among all the hard things afterwards said against him, he is never charged with breach of faith to his overlord.

[2] See Appendix, Note 7.

[3] "Pipinus rex audiens eos paci inhiantes, atque in scripto fœdere pactum promittentes, dixit summo pontifici, Fiat secundum præceptum tuum, benignissime pater." This is from the reading in the note in the Life of Stephen.

Biographer seems carefully to avoid committing himself on this head; the Pope, in his letters, goes on as before with ambiguous phrases about Saint Peter, the Roman Church, and the Roman Republic[1]. And we must yet again remember that, after the treaty between Romans, Franks, and Lombards, the Emperor Constantine still held that Ravenna and the other cities ought to be restored to himself. Again we ask, What were the actual words of the treaty? Surely something which the King was taught to take in one meaning, while the Emperor took it in another.

Pippin had marched into Italy; but he went no further than Pavia or whatever spots the immediate needs of warfare may have carried him to during the siege. At Pavia he parted from his late guest Stephen and from his new vassal Aistulf, who made many gifts, not only to the King but to the other chief men of the Franks. He himself went home with his great men and his army, bearing much treasure with him as the lower rewards of his pious enterprise[2]. He must have found Bertrada and Karlmann at Vienne. The Queen doubtless went with her husband; the defeated monk was left in his cell for the short space of life that was left to him. But Pippin left behind him in Italy those whose commission it was, as the representatives of the King and Patrician, to lead the Pope with all worship to his own city. These were his half-brother Jerome, and the Pope's former host Abbot Fulrad of Saint Denis[3]. On the field of Nero the returning Pontiff was met by crowds of the Roman clergy and people, men and women, bearing crosses and singing hymns and shouting

[1] See Appendix, Note 7.

[2] Cont. Fred. u. s.; "Pippinus rex cum exercitu suo vel multis thesauris ac multis muneribus Deo adjuvante reversus est ad propria."

[3] This comes again from the reading in the note in Stephen's Life; "Pippinus rex fratrem suum Hieronymum et Fulradum abbatem cum nonnullis aliis suis missis misit, qui domnum apostolicum ad sedem propriam . . . ducerent."

a welcome to their shepherd, their safety next after the Lord[1]. But the Patrician himself never saw the immediate home of his new dignity. A legend of later days told how he went thither only to pray, but was received with the honours of a triumph or ovation[2], and that the local Romans welcomed him with a special hymn. The fellow-citizens of the apostles, the servants of God's household, had come that day, bringing peace and light to the land, to give peace to the nations and to set free the people of the Lord[3]. And it is added, in words which must have some meaning, which would have more meaning in the days of Pippin than in the days of the writer, that the King and Patrician soon went back into his own land, to avoid the envy of them of Rome—to speak more truly, the writer adds, of them of Constantinople[4].

It is not perfectly clear whether Pippin took any security for the carrying out of the treaty beyond the oaths and hostages of Aistulf. He who had placed overmuch faith in his rebellious brother might possibly place overmuch faith also in the vassal whom he had made such at the point of the sword. On the one hand we find the Pope very soon complaining that Aistulf had not given up a hand's breadth of the lands that he had promised to give up[5], while on the other hand he complains somewhat later, and his biographer complains with him, that Aistulf had again seized the stronghold of Narni which he

[1] "Venit pastor noster et post Dominus salus nostra."

[2] This wild story comes from the Monk of Saint Gallen, ii. 15 (Mon. Car. 689).

[3] Where did he get his hymn, "Cives apostolorum," &c.? He adds, "cujus vim carminis et originem quidam ignorantes, hoc in nataliciis apostolorum canere consueverunt."

[4] "Ipse vero, invidiam Romanorum, immo ut verius loquar Constantinopolitanorum, declinans, mox in Franciam revertitur." These are very remarkable words, which, notwithstanding the legendary quarter in which they are found, must have some real meaning. Pippin certainly never was at Rome. Did the Patrician shrink from putting himself in too close a competition with the Emperor?

[5] See below, p. 176.

had before given over to the commissioners of the Frankish king[1]. The two complaints sound contradictory. But Narni was a special case standing apart from the case of Ravenna and the other cities of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis;

> "Where girt with towers
> The fortress of Nequinum lowers
> O'er the pale waves of Nar."

The castle on the height, by the broken bridge of Augustus, was more directly threatening to Rome than any of the more distant and more recent acquisitions of the Lombards. It was a conquest of Liudprand not of Aistulf[2], an accession to the duchy of Spoleto rather than to the immediate Lombard kingdom. It may well have been the subject of a special clause in the treaty, requiring its immediate surrender to the representatives of the Frankish king. There is no sign that any such security was taken with regard to Aistulf's own conquests. The oath and the hostages seem to have been looked upon as motives strong enough to bind him.

§ 5. *The Second Italian Expedition of Pippin.* 756.

The Italian war was over. The Roman Patrician doubtless deemed that he had done all that he was called on to do, and the Frankish king looked to have some time to give to the affairs of his own kingdom. The year after the campaign of Susa (755) was a year of peace for the Frankish dominions, a year of legislation civil and ecclesiastical. The Marchfield was held, and the appearance of

[1] Again from the notes in the Life of Stephen; "Castrum illud Narnienses, quod pridem reddiderat misso Francorum jure beati Petri abstulit." So in Mon. Car. 45, 51 (Ep. 8), Stephen speaks of Narni as "quam beato Petro concessistis," "quam beato Petro tua Christianitas concessit."

[2] Paul. Diac. vi. 48.

one of the vassal princes is specially noticed. Chiltrudis, the sister of the King, the widowed mother of the young Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, was dead[1], and the rule of the duchy passed, formally at least, from her hands into those of her son. He could not have been above thirteen years old; but he had now to play his part in affairs, like his cousins the young kings and patricians, and without either parent to guide him. He came to the Marchfield, clearly to seek his admission to the duchy at his uncle's hands[2]. The meeting of this year seems to have been the last Marchfield that was held; most likely in this year, certainly within a few years from this time, the time of the assembly was changed, and the Franks hereafter came together on the first day of May. The change had some advantages. If an expedition was decreed, the armed nation, or a large part of it, could march at once. They seem to have done so the very next year, the first time that the assembly met on the newly fixed day. And that march was again a march into Italy (756) to defend the Church and Republic of Rome against the new vassal of the Frankish realm, King Aistulf of Pavia.

The year between the two Italian expeditions (755) was, besides the change from Marchfield to Mayfield, marked by a memorable ecclesiastical gathering at Verneuil. But it seems also to have seen some important temporal decrees, which may be spoken of more fully elsewhere, but which show how Pippin was disposed to look to the affairs of his kingdom when neither popes nor revolted vassals called him elsewhere. He legislates about tolls with special regard to those who went to Rome in God's honour, about the coinage, about the administration of justice, about exemptions, chiefly perhaps ecclesiastical, from the ordinary authorities of the realm[3]. But the

[1] Her death is recorded in Ann. Petav. and Lauriss.

[2] Ann. Mosch. (Pertz, xvi. 495); "Venit Daccillo ad Marcis campum, et mutaverunt Marcam in mense Madio."

[3] See the decrees, Pertz, Leg. i. 31, and Richter's note.

historic interest of the time, that which makes it, peaceful as it actually was, a part of the history of Pippin's Italian warfare, lies in the letters which during this year, and the early part of the next, the King received from Pope Stephen. His answers, if he sent any, have not been preserved, and the Pope's passionate appeals were slow in working the effect on the King's mind which their writer hoped for and in the end attained. Abbot Fulrad, who had led back the Pope to Rome, came back in the course of the year with a letter from the Pope to his master and his master's sons, the contents of which he and his companions, the King's brother Jerome doubtless among them, were to enforce with their own mouths[1]. The letter is written in the usual style of such letters, but amidst a mass of words the main facts of the case stand forth. Aistulf had, from the very day that the King of the Franks and the Pope had parted, never ceased to afflict the Pope and the Church[2]; according to a phrase so familiar to papal rhetoric that it had long before this time found its way into ready-written formulæ, "the stones, if they had a voice, would cry out against the wrong-doings of the King of the Lombards[3]." But as yet those wrong-doings seem to have been wholly negative; Aistulf had done nothing of what he had promised; he had given up nothing of what the King of the Franks by his written act, by his deed of gift—that is most likely by the

[1] Cod. Car., Jaffé, Ep. vi. 37; "Folradus filius noster, vester consiliarius, enarrent vobis." The letter is addressed to all the kings and patricians, Charles and Karlmann as well as Pippin.

[2] Ib. 35; "A die illo a quo ab invicem separati sumus, nos affligere et in magna ignominia sanctam Dei ecclesiam habere conatus est."

[3] Ib.; "Ipsi lapides, si dici potest, tribulationem nostram magno ululatu flerent." The stones come again in other letters; their most curious appearance is in the formula by which the death of a pope was announced to the Exarch (Liber Diurnus, lix. p. 109, ed. Rozière). The dead man was to be described as "sanctissimus noster pontifex, cujus cuncti vero, si dicendum est, etiam lapides ipsi flevimus exitum."

treaty—had confirmed to the blessed Peter[1]. He had not restored a single inch of ground to the blessed Peter, to the holy Church of God or to the Republic of the Romans; the last two phrases now begin to be joined together as if they meant the same thing[2]. All Christian men had believed that the wonderful victory of the Frankish king would have given the apostle his rights[3]; yet he the Pope had gone and come back to his own flock without the rights of Saint Peter gaining anything[4]. The King had put too much faith in the promises and oaths of the Lombard, who had done nothing but mock him. He had listened to Aistulf rather than to the Pope; that is, we must suppose, the Pope had warned him not to trust to the oath of Aistulf, but to take the same security for the surrender of the more distant cities which he had taken in the case of Narni[5]. It may be that some communication had since then passed between Pippin and Aistulf, and that Pippin was still inclined—just as in the case of Grifo—to put more faith in the Lombard king than at all suited the Pope[6]. But now Aistulf's falsehood was fully found out;

[1] See Appendix, Note 7.

[2] Cod. Car., Jaffé, Ep. vi. 35; "Nec unius enim palmi terræ spatium beato Petro sanctæque Dei ecclesiæ rei publicæ Romanorum reddere passus est.'

[3] Ib.; "Omnes Christiani ita firmiter credebant, quod Petrus princeps apostolorum nunc per vestrum fortissimum brachium suam percepisset justitiam."

[4] Ib.; "Sine effectu justitiæ beati Petri ad proprium ovile et populum nobis commissum sumus reversi."

[5] Ib.; "Lugeo cur verba nostræ infelicitatis non audientes mendatium plus quam veritatem comedere voluistis, inludentes vos et inridentes." The Latin is hopeless, but it must be Aistulf and Pippin who did the "inlusio" and "inrisus." "Nostra infelicitas" simply = "nos." So afterwards "credentes eidem iniquo regi, quod per vinculum sacramenti pollicitus est, . . . loca restituenda confirmastis." All this points to Pippin's too great trust in Aistulf at the time of the treaty.

[6] Ib. 36; "Nequaquam jam ipsius nequissimi regis vel ejus judicum seductuosa verba et illusionis mendacia credentes." I do not know that these words positively prove that Aistulf had sent an embassy to

Pippin could believe him no longer[1]. The Pope calls on the King in the most solemn way to come and do what he had promised, and take care that Saint Peter really got what his own writ had given him[2].

When his letter was written, Aistulf had simply kept Ravenna and the other cities which he had sworn to restore. He had not gone on to any active measure of hostility against the Pope. A second letter sent during the same year by the hands of Wilchar Bishop of Nomentanum, describes matters as getting worse. From withholding what he ought to have given up to Saint Peter he had gone on to do mischief to the possessions in which Saint Peter had not yet been disturbed[3]. The Pope now appeals yet more fervently and solemnly than before to the three kings and patricians. It is now that he gives his lively description of the wretchedness of a journey through Gaul in December[4]; he reminds the kings of their promise at Quierzy, but says not a word of any written document being issued there[5]. He reminds them of the wonderful victory of the few over the many, of the votaries of Saint Peter over his enemies[6], and speaks more strongly than

Pippin before the writing of this letter; but it looks like it. The word "judices" is a little odd in this connexion. Who were these "judges"?

[1] Cod. Car. p. 36; "Ecce patefactum est ejus mendacium, ut nequaquam ulterius vires credendi habere possit, sed magis, cognito ejus iniquo ingenio et iniqua voluntate, ejus fraudentur insidiæ."

[2] Ib.; "Quod semel beato Petro polliciti estis et per donationem vestram manum firmatam, pro mercede animæ vestræ beato Petro reddere et contradere festinate."

[3] Ib. 40; "Non enim quia jam reddere, ut constituit, propria beati Petri voluit, sed etiam scamaras atque depræ̆dationes seu devastationes in civitatibus et locis beati Petri facere sua imperatione nec cessavit nec cessat." See Ducange in *Scamarus, Scamaræ*. The word is as old as Eugippius and Jordanis, and is also found in Greek.

[4] See above, p. 129.

[5] See Appendix, Note 7.

[6] Cod. Car., Jaffé, Ep. vii. 39; "Inimici Dei ... super brevem numerum populi vestri inruerunt, et ita per manum beati Petri omnipotens Dominus victoriam vobis largiri dignatus est, ut illi qui innumerabiles existabant a paucis hominibus fuissent interemti."

ever of the trust which had been given to the false words of Aistulf rather than to the true words of the Pope[1]. The same tale is told again as before, in nearly the same words and with the same appeal to the very stones[2]. Fulrad and his companions can tell them all; only he seems to imply the possible doubt whether Fulrad and his companions will tell them all[3]. He then speaks of the damage done by Aistulf to the towns and villages of the Apostle, and asks whether a man who has so openly cast away the Christian faith ought to be believed of any man[4]. Yet, as Liudprand, deemed so ungodly at Rome, seemed among his own people the very model, not only of Lombard kings but of Christian men[5], so his successor seems to have been on the best terms with the clergy of his own kingdom and was at this very time largely occupied in granting charters of gifts to its chief churches[6]. The Pope then goes on to enlarge on the power of Saint Peter, how strict he will be in requiring the fulfilment of all promises made to him, how dangerous will be their case at the last

[1] Cod. Car. vii. 29; "Videns suam deceptionem Haistolfus rex, cum *suis Deo destructis judicibus* per blandos sermones et suasiones atque sacramenta inluserunt prudentiam vestram, et plus illis falsa dicentibus quam nobis veritatem asserentibus credidistis." We again wish to know more about these judges, who would seem to have been overthrown somewhere.

It must be remembered that this letter is addressed to Charles and Karlmann as well as to Pippin. The words therefore, taken strictly, would imply that the two boys were at Pavia, which there is no reason to think that they were. This bears on another point.

[2] But the "magnus ululatus" expected from the stones in the last letter is now left out; it is enough if they simply "flerent."

[3] Ib. 40; "Omnia vester conciliarius Folradus presbyter et abbas, una cum suis sociis, *si Deum præ oculis habent*, omnia vobis enarrare possunt."

[4] Ib.; "Oblitus quippe est Deum qui fecit eum, et fidem Christianam transgressus est. Quomodo ulterius credendus est sive ipse sive ejus consentanei?"

[5] See the end of the History of Paul the Deacon.

[6] See the instances in Oelsner, pp. 257, 446.

day if the Prince of the Apostles should complain before the just Judge that the treaty to which their names were set was still unfulfilled[1]. The people of the Roman Republic[2] were sharing in his sorrows and tears; they grieved that he had taken his long and painful journey for nothing; all mankind had looked to see Saint Peter restored to his rights by the Frankish arms, but it had not been so[3]. Bishop Wilhar, in whom they might put full trust, would tell them more[4].

Then come two letters, written late in the February of the next year (Feb. 24, 756)[5]. They are in truth the same letter, with certain differences. The matter and, to a great extent, the words are the same in both; but there is some difference in the form, and there is a notable difference in the address. In one the Pope and the whole people of Rome address the three Kings and the whole people of the Franks[6]; in the other Pope Stephen by him-

[1] Stephen goes on (Mon. Car. p. 40) at some length about the "fortis exactor isdem princeps apostolorum beatus Petrus"; the most remarkable expressions are those about the treaty; "Et necesse est, ut ipsum *cyrographum* expleatis; ne, dum justus Judex ad judicandum vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem advenerit in futuro judicio, isdem princeps apostolorum *idem cyrographum demonstrans nullam habere firmitatem, districtas cum eo faciatis rationes.*"

[2] Ib. 42; "Noster populus rei puplice Romanorum."

[3] Ib.; "Et factum non est; et in magno cordis stupore de hoc omnes evenerunt."

[4] Ib.; "Cui in omnibus credere jubeatis, et exitum bonum in causa beati Petri ponere."

[5] The exact date of February 24 is fixed by the letter itself. The siege began (p. 44) on the Kalends of January; it had lasted fifty-five days (p. 45) when the letter was written.

[6] Ib. 43. It is addressed to the three kings and patricians ("tribus regibus et nostris Romanorum patriciis"), also "omnibus episcopis, abbatibus, presbiteris et monachis, seu gloriosis ducibus, comitibus, vel cuncto exercitui regni et provincie Francorum." The senders are 'Stephanus papa et omnes episcopi presbiteri diacones seu duces cartularii comites tribunantes et universus populus et exercitus Romanorum, omnes in afflictione positi." On "cartularii" (*χαρτουλάριοι*) see Ducange in voc.

self addresses Pippin King and Patrician by himself[1]. One might think that one was meant to be read openly in the Marchfield or Mayfield, while the other was meant for the King only; but in the one which is addressed to Pippin only, there is nothing at all secret, nothing beyond a few personal allusions at all different from the contents of the public letter. The Pope tells the King and his people of the new state of things which had begun with the new year. Its first day had been marked by a general gathering of the Lombard forces from all sides for the actual siege of Rome. Advancing from three points, they had hemmed in the city and all its gates. The Tuscan division had encamped before the gates on the right bank of the Tiber. There was no Leonine city yet; the Vatican hill lay open; the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles was not yet within the walls of Rome. The Lombards sat down before the gate of Saint Peter, as well as before the gates of the Transtiberian city, that of Saint Pancras, once the Aurelian gate and that which still kept the name of the Haven—Portus, supplanter of Ostia—to which it led[2]. The King of the Lombards himself, advancing from the Spoletine duchy on the other side of the river, encamped on the most historic soil in the whole circuit. Aistulf in person held the ground over which Hannibal had marched to turn away from the Colline gate of Rome, the ground over which Pontius of Telesia had marched to that fight with Lucius Sulla which ruled, when the question arose in its last and most dangerous shape, that Rome should be the head of Italy.

[1] Mon. Car. p. 48; "Domino excellentissimo filio et nostro spiritali compatri Pippino regi Francorum et patricio Romanorum Stephanus papa." This relation of "compater" is strongly insisted on in this copy (53), not of course in the one whose heading is more general. Bertrada too is "tua dulcissima conjux, excellentissima regina, spiritalis nostra commater." Their sons are "tui meique dulcissimi filii." Had the Pope been godfather to Charles and Karlmann at *confirmation*? They must surely have been baptized long before.

[2] Ib. p. 44. This was "cunctus ejusdem Langobardorum exercitus Tusciæ partibus."

The extension of the Aurelian walls had taken their immediate battle-ground within the city; but Aistulf had in his grasp the ground where Witigis had pitched his camp; he threatened that corner where Belisarius needed not to repair what was then already *Muro Torto*; that broken wall which Saint Peter himself had guarded against the Goth and would now doubtless guard against the Lombard[1]. The headquarters of the King were by that Salarian gate which had been opened to an earlier Goth, and which Aistulf now sought, under heavy threats, to have in the like sort opened to himself. "Open me the Salarian gate," such are the words which the Pope puts into the mouth of the besieger, "and I will enter the city. Give me up your Pontiff, and I will deal graciously with you; if not, I will break down your walls, and slay you all with one sword, and look who is he that shall deliver you out of my hands[2]." Meanwhile the whole force of the Lombards of Beneventum had advanced from the south; they held the gate of Ostia, now that of Saint Paul; his basilica was in their power, as that of Saint Peter was in the power of their Tuscan comrades. They held too the Latin gate, the gate of Saint John, the place of the deliverance of the Evangelist, where Stephen, from his own Lateran church and palace just within the walls, could look out at the enemies encamped at his own door[3]. These gates are mentioned by name; but all were held; the whole country round Rome was occupied; besides the churches of the Apostles, the basilicas of Saint Agnes and Saint Laurence,

[1] See Procopius, Bell. Goth. i. 19.

[2] Cod. Car., Jaffé, Ep. viii. 44; "Aperite mihi portam Salariam et ingrediar civitatem; et tradite mihi pontificem vestrum et pacienciam ago in vobis. Minus ne, muros evertens, uno vos gladio interficiam; et videam quis vos eruere possit de manibus meis." It is hard on the Lombard king to be turned into an Assyrian blasphemer. On the phrase "uno gladio" see above, p. 119.

[3] Ib.; "Beneventani omnes generaliter in hanc Romanam urbem conjungentes, resederunt juxta portam beati Iohannis et beati Pauli apostoli et cæteras istius Romane urbis partes."

the catacomb of Saint Sebastian, all the holy places around the city were in the hands of foes whom the Pope speaks of as worse than the worst of heathens and barbarians[1]. For fifty-five days (January 1 to February 24, 756) they had kept the city hemmed in at every point; their attacks went on night and day; all the devices and engines of war were brought to bear upon the walls[2]. And more cruel than all were the scornful cries of the besiegers, "Behold, you are hemmed in by us; let the Franks now come and deliver you out of our hands[3]."

It is at this point that the Pope mentions the Lombard seizure of several towns of the Roman territory, and specially of Narni, the town which Pippin's commissioners had specially put into the Pope's hands[4]. He had no way of communicating by land with the outer world; it was only by the river that he was able to send his letter[5]. Some notice of Stephen's former letter must have been taken by Pippin; for there was now at Rome a Frankish envoy, the Abbot Warnachar, one of those churchmen who did not shrink, at such times as these at least, from the work of warfare; he put on a coat of mail, and day and

[1] Cod. Car., Jaffé, Ep. viii. 45; "Tanta mala in hac Romana provincia fecerunt quanta certe nec paganæ gentes aliquando perpetratæ sunt."

[2] Ib.; "Cum diversis machinis et adinventionibus plurimis contra nos ad muros istius Romanæ urbis commiserunt."

[3] Ib.; "Veniant nunc Franci et eruant vos de manibus nostris."

[4] See above, p. 174. The Biographer also mentions the taking of Narni.

[5] Ib.; "Quam ob rem constricti vix potuimus"—"per maximum ingenium" is added in the copy addressed to the King—"maximo in itinere præsentes nostras litteras et missum ad vestram Christianitatem dirigere." He adds, "quas et cum magnis lacrimis scripsimus." The letter to the King is much fuller about the tears—"per unam quamque literam lacrimas sanguine mixtas."

The Biographer (p. 170) also mentions Warnachar and the sending of the letter by sea; "Beatissimus pontifex per maximum iter suos ordinans, et ad eum Franciam dirigit missos, uno cum quodam religioso viro Warnerio qui ab eodem Francorum rege huc Romam directus fuerat." He gives a summary of the letter which, by a very odd phrase, he says was written "subtili fictione."

night he watched on the walls of Rome and strove with all his might for the defence and deliverance of all the Romans[1]. He now went back to his own land and to his own master as one of the bearers of the Pope's letters. With him went as papal envoys George Bishop of Ostia and two others described as Thonaria and Comita. They were to tell the King and the Franks more minutely[2] all that they themselves had said, and the King and the Franks were to trust them as they would trust the Pope himself.

All this history and topography is doubtless fully trustworthy. We begin to stumble a little at the more general account of the doings of the besiegers which the Pope sends to the King. All the possible horrors of war are brought together[3]; all known doings of pagans are outdone; the stones again appealed too, this time not to weep in silence, but to shout aloud[4]. Every kind of havoc and spoil was done to property and produce[5]; that is almost a matter of course. The Lombards may even have killed and led captive men, women, and sucking children; they may have wounded monks and ravished nuns[6]. That is to say, some cases of all these evil deeds may have happened; no commander in those days, perhaps none in any days, could ever keep every man in his army in perfect order. But some of the Pope's charges refute themselves.

[1] Cod. Car. pp. 48, 55. Warnachar was "bonus athleta Christi." We read how "pro amore beati Petri loricam induens, muros istius afflicte Romane civitatis vigilabat die noctuque."

[2] Ib. 47, 54. They were to tell "subtili enarratione quæ propriis oculis viderant."

[3] Ib. 44, 50.

[4] Ib. 45. "Quia etiam, si dici potest, et ipsi lapides nostras desolaciones videntes, ululant nobiscum."

[5] Ib. "Omnia peculia abstulerunt. Et vineas fere ad radices absciderunt et messes conterentes omnino devoraverunt."

[6] Ib. 44. "Servos Dei monachos qui pro officio divino in monasteriis morabantur, plagis maximis tundentes, plures laniaverunt." Several details are given.

His very first charge is that of a general burning of churches. To this it is easy to answer that the churches were not burned. Saint Peter's, to begin with, was in their power, and Saint Peter's was not burned; the houses about it, the property of the Apostle, were burned; but the church itself was not burned, nor does it seem to have suffered in any way [1]. Nor is there anything to show that any of the other churches outside the walls suffered any more. When the Pope goes on to speak of the breaking of images, the stealing of vestments and ornaments, and of a strange form of irreverence to the consecrated host [2], we see, just as in the other class of stories, that some isolated cases are spoken of as if they were the systematic practice of the King and his whole army. The Lombards were a devout people under a devout King, and they seem to have specially given themselves to a form of robbery which in their case is spoken of as being greatly to the damage of their souls, but which, in those who were more favoured, was sometimes looked on as pardonable, if not praiseworthy. They dug up the bodies of the saints and carried them off to be objects of reverence in their own land [3]. This was the King's own work. Aistulf most likely thought, as did the devout Einhard [4] and others in

[1] The Pope (p. 44) starts with a general proposition, "ecclesias Dei incenderunt." Yet about Saint Peter's, all he ventures to say is "omnes domos cultas beati Petri igni combusserunt." So Cont. Fred. 121; "ad ecclesiam sancti Petri perveniens et domus quas ibidem reperit maxime igne concremavit." And we shall presently have Saint Peter's own witness to the same effect.

[2] Ib.; "Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi in his contaminatis vasibus quos folles vocant, miserunt et cibo carnium copioso saturati, comedebant eadem munera." Yet this may have been superstition rather than profaneness.

[3] Vita Steph. p. 170; "Corpora sanctorum effodiens, eorum sacra mysteria ad magnum animæ detrimentum abstulit."

[4] Oelsner (261) makes reference to Einhard's pious theft of the bodies of the saints Marcellinus and Peter. Einhard's allusion to it which occurs in a letter to the Emperor's heir (Cod. Car., Jaffé, iv. 452) is curious. See also his Annals, 827; and those of Einhard of Fulda (Pertz, i. 559) in this same year.

much the same case, that he was thereby adding to his stock of good works.

The siege went on for more than a month after the sending of this letter; it lasted in all three months (February to March, 756), and we are not told how it came to an end[1]. It was doubtless before the siege was ended that Pope Stephen ventured on a more daring piece of letter-writing than any that he had yet attempted. It was, we may be sure, with no feeling of irreverence, with no feeling of conscious dishonesty, with no purpose of really deceiving the mind of any man, but simply as putting his appeal into the most emphatic possible shape, that, when his earlier letters had brought no help, he at last composed one in a higher name than his own, in that of his patron apostle himself[2]. Peter called to be an apostle by Jesus Christ the Son of the living God, writes, not without the usual complimentary phrases, to the three most excellent kings Pippin, Charles, and Karlmann, to the most holy bishops, abbots, priests, and all the religious monks, and to all the dukes, counts, and the whole army and people dwelling in the land of Francia[3]. This was undoubtedly meant to be read in the first Mayfield[4], and a stirring appeal it is, written naturally in a higher tone of command than when the Pope was simply speaking in his own name. And it is well to mark the words chosen to set forth the relation between the patron saint and his chosen people, his elder people the Romans and his newer people the Franks. The Franks are his adopted sons, his special people chosen from among all nations[5]. Like the Æduí

[1] "Per trium mensium spatium obsidens," says the Biographer.

[2] Cod. Car., Jaffé, iv. 55.

[3] Ib. 55, 56. The formula is nearly the same as before; but it ends "cunctis generalibus exercitibus et populo Franciæ commorantibus."

[4] So Oelsner, p. 263.

[5] The Franks are (p. 57) his "adoptivi filii," "peculiares inter omnes gentes vos omnes Francorum populos habemus."

of old, they are the brothers of the Romans[1]. He tells them how he has given them safety and victory whenever they had prayed to him; above all, he had given them that famous victory, which a small band of them had won over the multitudes of the enemies of the Church of God[2]. But the letter is not, like the earlier ones, rich in facts. Only it supplies the best possible answer to some of the vague statements of the earlier ones. Saint Peter is afraid that the body in which he suffered for Christ and the house in which that body rests may suffer some irreverence from the besiegers[3]. No wrong therefore had been done in that quarter when the letter was written.

The letter from Saint Peter in person may have stirred the hearts of the Frankish king and people in a way that the letters from his successor had not stirred them. The letter which Stephen wrote during the siege and sent by Abbot Warnachar and the letter written in the name of the apostle were doubtless both read in the Mayfield, and it would seem that the armed nation at once answered to the call, and marched straight from the place of assembly to the place of warfare. With a Mayfield this could be done, though not with a Marchfield; but only if it was pretty well understood beforehand that there was to be

[1] Cod. Car. p. 58; "Mea Romana civitas et populus meus peculiaris, fratres vestri Romani."

[2] Ib. 59; "In omnibus vestris necessitatibus, dum me deprecati estis, auxiliatus sum;" "inimicos sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ dum contra vos prœlium ingruerant a vobis, qui parvo numero eos fuistis, prosternos feci."

[3] Saint Peter is made several times to refer to the presence of his body at Rome. The passage which concerns us is at p. 58. The Franks are to come, "ne, quod absit, corpus meum, quod pro Domino Iesu Christo tormento perpessum est, et domus mea, ubi per Dei præceptionem requiescit, ab eis [Langobardis] contaminarentur, et populus meus peculiaris lanietur *amplius* nec trucidetur." The "laniatio" and "trucidatio" is a thing which is going on and which should be stopped; the "contaminatio" is a thing which may happen and which should be hindered.

an expedition that year, and even what course that expedition was likely to take. The host seems to have set forth in May. The point to be reached was the same as before, but the line of march was different. It is specially marked as being through Burgundy; the first point named is Cabillo, Challon on the Saone, ever to be carefully distinguished from the Catalaunian city on the Marne. Thence they went on to Geneva, whose name appears in the same corrupt form which is so often bestowed on that of Genoa, and which seems designed to point to both as showing the character of a gate[1]. Yet Geneva, perhaps the most central city of Burgundy, was much less of a gate than later political arrangements have since made it. Thence they crossed the lands south of the lake to their old halting-place by Saint John of Maurienne, and began to make ready for their second crossing of the Alps. Meanwhile, as some have thought, the young Duke Tassilo was leading the forces of Bavaria to his uncle's help, but by some course more natural for a Bavarian army, by the Brenner or some other pass to the east of that chosen by the Franks[2]. By whatever road they came, they were ready before long to meet the Frankish overlord on Lombard soil.

But diplomacy did not cease even while the armies were on their march. The affairs of Italy had not been neglected by another power which had at least as much interest in

[1] Cont. Fred. 121; "Hæc Pippinus rex cum per internuntios audisset, commoto iterum omni exercitu Francorum, per Burgundiam, per Cavalonum urbem, et inde per Januam usque ad Maurianium veniens." Geneva is "Janua," "Jenua," "Genua," "Gebena." See Ann. Laur. and Einh. 773. In the Divisio Imperii (Pertz, Leg. i. 373) we have "Genavensis comitatus" and "Cavallonensis."

[2] This is the inference of Luden (iv. 215, 499) from the words of the Continuator, who, after the Franks have defeated the Lombards at the *Clusæ*, says, "Rex Pippinus cum nepote suo Tassilone, Baioariorum duce, partibus Italiæ usque ad Ticinum accessit." Ranke (Weltgeschichte, v. 39). He mentions the Frankish passage of the *Klausum*, and adds "Zugleich drangen die damals den Franken zur Heeresfolge verpflichteten Baiern in die Lombardei ein."

them as any of the German kings. We parted from the Imperial envoy John the Silentiary at the court of Pavia when Pope Stephen set out on his toilsome journey into Gaul[1]. He now appears again, in company with a colleague George the Protosecreta, on an embassy from the Emperor Constantine to the King of the Franks. We are not at this stage directly told the nature of their errand; but it becomes plain enough a little later. Let us try to look at things not from the point of Rome or Pavia or Saint Denis, but from that of Constantinople. The Pope, a subject of the Roman Empire, had gone, with the Emperor's good will, to ask the King of the Franks, a foreign Prince on friendly terms with the Roman Empire, for help against another foreign prince who was an enemy of the Empire. On that foreign prince a Roman title had been bestowed, and he had gone, at once a friendly prince and—at least in Imperial eyes—a Roman officer, to win back from the enemy certain lands for the Roman Republic, a form of words which, at Constantinople at least, could be understood in no meaning save that in which the Roman Republic was another name for the Roman Empire. The new-made Patrician had crossed the Alps; he had overcome the common enemy; he had made him give up, or promise to give up, the lands which he had taken from the Empire. He had so engaged to do by a solemn treaty imposed on him by the Emperor's subject and late envoy the Pope and his officer the Roman Patrician. Since then a great deal had happened. The Lombard had broken the treaty; he had besieged Rome; the siege had been raised; but not a word had been heard about restoring the lands which the Lombard had taken from the Republic to the head of the Republic at Constantinople. Constantine had most likely cherished no great hope of winning back the Exarchate by Frankish help; but, as I have already put it, by the expedition of Pippin he could lose nothing and might gain something. He had certainly gained nothing,

[1] See above, p. 126.

and his eyes may by this time have been more fully opened to the way, to use plain words, he had been tricked by the use of ambiguous words. Still it was worth while to send an embassy to the King of the Franks. As before, it might do some good and it could do no harm; it was worth while at least to find out what Pippin's acts and purposes meant. The Imperial envoys, on their way to the Frankish court, stopped at Rome, and were received by Pope Stephen. From him they learned to their amazement that the prince to whom they were sent was already on his march towards Italy. They could hardly believe the tidings; they would go on into the Frankish dominions and learn more[1]. We should like to know exactly how much Constantine knew of the actual state of affairs. In any case he had been deceived—if he had any real hopes—as to the issue of Pippin's first expedition. He may not have fully known how little that expedition had done for anybody; but he at any rate knew that it had done nothing for him. He must have heard something of the state of things in Italy; he could not fail to have heard that Aistulf still kept the Exarchate and that he had besieged Rome. But he may not have known how completely Pippin had been outwitted by Aistulf, and how little it was at that moment in Pippin's power to do anything in the matter of the Exarchate, to give it up to the Emperor or to do anything else with it, except as the result of another war against Aistulf. But in any case he would hold it to be Pippin's business to restore it to himself if he had the power, or, failing such power at the

[1] The whole account of the Imperial embassy comes from the Life of Stephen (170, 171); "Cum ad prædictas Longobardorum Clusas jam fatus Christianissimus Francorum appropinquaret rex, conjunxerunt in hac Romana urbe imperiales missi." ("Georgium" is the right reading, not "Gregorium") ... "directi ad prædictum Francorum regem." The Pope announces to them "motionem prædicti Francorum regis; quod quidem illi dubium habuerunt credendi." He attaches to them his own agent—"adhærens eis missum"—and they go on.

moment, at least to make representations to Aistulf. We do not know how far Constantine had heard of the rumour that Pippin was designing a second Lombard war. He clearly knew nothing for certain. The news of Pippin's march comes as a surprise on the Imperial envoys. They may have absolutely known nothing about it, or it may simply have come sooner than they looked for. A very faint indication, which I shall discuss elsewhere, might suggest that he looked on a second expedition of Pippin's as not likely to serve his interest, and that one object of the embassy was to keep the peace between the Frankish and the Lombard king[1]. Constantine may by this time have learned the truth which became a proverb among his successors, that it was well to have the Frank as a friend, that it was not well to have him as a neighbour[2]. The saying indeed is likely enough to have arisen out of all these complicated dealings between the Empire, the Franks, and the Pope. But whatever were their exact instructions, it was in any case the business of the Imperial envoys to see the Frankish king as soon as they could, to strive to direct his course so as to suit their master's interests at the earliest stage of that course that might be. It would have suited them better to see him before he set out, to find out his purpose in the expedition, to direct it, if possible, so as to serve the Empire, if not, to make a last effort to hinder it altogether. For this they were too late; but at least they would try and see the King before he entered Italy. It was no less the Pope's interest to thwart all that they did, or at any rate, narrowly to watch what they did. To that end Stephen sent in their company an envoy of his own, with whose presence they seem not to have been at all pleased.

The envoys of the Emperor and the Pope sailed with all

[1] See Appendix, Note 8.

[2] Einhard, Vita K. 16; "Erat enim semper Romanis et Græcis Francorum suspecta potentia, unde et illum Græcum extat proverbium; ΤΟΝ ΦΡΑΝΚΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΕΧΙϹ, ΓΙΤΟΝΑ ΟΥΚ ΕΧΙϹ." Pertz adds, "Græcum ει et η ab Einhardo ι legi solitum apparet," πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

speed to Marseilles. There the news that they had heard at Rome was more than confirmed. The King of the Franks had not only set out on his march; by that time he had already crossed the Alps, and was already on Lombard ground. The biographer of Stephen adds, perhaps echoing some saying of the Pope's envoy to his Imperialist companions, that the King had gone at the call of the most blessed Pope and to fulfil the promise which he had made on oath to the blessed Peter[1]. That was a way of putting it which would naturally make the Silentiary and the Protosecreta more anxious than ever to see the Frankish king at the first possible moment. It was their business to plead the cause of their master before it was altogether too late, before the course of events had turned against him without hope. And to that end they had no need of the company of the Papal envoy who had come with them. Their interest clearly was to make a perfectly independent appeal to Pippin, and to that end to find him as little as possible exposed to papal influences. They would give him a chance of learning the real meaning of the words Roman Republic without any one standing by to throw dust into his eyes by cunningly turned sentences about Saint Peter and the Roman Church. They would go, one of them at least should go, with all speed to overtake the Frankish king on his march. The words of our Roman informant are not perfectly clear; but it would seem that John the Silentiary stayed at Marseilles, and kept the nameless agent of the Pope with him. George meanwhile pressed on with all haste, and found Pippin drawing near to Pavia[2].

The passage of the mountains by the Frankish army

[1] "Didicerunt jam prædictum Francorum regem Longobardorum fines fuisse ingressum, juxta adhortationem antefati beatissimi papæ, et promissionem quam beato Petro jurejurando obtulerat."

[2] "Hæc cognoscentes ipsi imperiales missi tristes effecti nitebantur dolose [*al.* decore] missum apostolicæ sedis detinere Massiliam, ut minime ad prædictum properaret regem, *affligentes eum valide*."

seems to have been much easier the second time than the first. They had learned by experience how such things were to be done[1]. The Lombard force which withstood their entry at their own pass seem not to have been commanded by the King[2]; they were easily routed and most of them slaughtered, and the remnant took to flight. Such is the Frankish and Roman story, and we have no Lombard version to set against it. Pippin now advanced towards Pavia; he was near to the city, but had not yet begun the siege, when George the Protosecreta overtook him with his master's message. To the piece of diplomacy which now followed I have more than once called attention in advance because it is something like the key to the whole story. We see how Constantine had understood matters, at least how he had formally professed to understand matters, through the whole business. In his view, undoubtedly the view of law and history, the Exarchate was his; it was he who had been deprived of it by Aistulf; it was to him that it ought to be restored. This was the doctrine which the Silentiary and the Protosecreta would have had, in any case, at any stage of Pippin's course, to press on the mind of the King. They had now to press it on his mind in such a shape and by such arguments as might best suit this last chance of all, when there was every likelihood that the Exarchate would soon pass, by the result of the war which had begun, from the hands of the Lombards into the hands of the Franks. One more appeal was to be made to the future conqueror to restore his coming conquest into the hands of its lawful master. We have no Imperialist, no Frankish, account of the interview between Pippin and George. According to the

[1] Cont. Fred. 121; "Rex Pippinus cum exercitu suo, monte Cimisio transacto, usque ad Clusas, ubi Longobardi ei resistere nitebantur, pervenit, et statim Franci, *solito more, ut edocti erant*, per montes et rupes erumpentes, in regnum Aistulfi cum multa ira et furore inruunt." The geography is well marked.

[2] "Aistulfus . . . ad Clusas exercitum Langobardorum *mittens*."

biographer of Stephen, he earnestly called on the King, with many promises of gifts from his master, the Emperor, to give up to the Imperial dominion the city of Ravenna and the other cities and towns of the Exarchate. The words have a formal sound and seem chosen for the occasion. All ambiguous phrases about the Republic and even about the Empire are cast aside; the Emperor says plainly what he wants. He does not ask for some vague acknowledgement of his nominal rights, some shadowy overlordship consistent with the practical dominion of one or more of his own subjects. He asks that the lands which the Lombard had seized and which he had not given up to any one, should now be given back to himself in the same full dominion in which he had held them before the Lombard seized them[1]. The answer put into the mouth of Pippin, though brought in amidst a mass of fine words, is in itself equally to the purpose. The most Christian King, the mildest of kings, the faithful servant of God and Saint Peter, did not allow his firm heart to be moved. He would not give up the cities of the Exarchate to the dominion of the Emperor. They should in no wise be taken away from the power of the blessed Peter, from the right of the Roman Church and of the Pontiff of the Apostolic See[2]. He added with an oath that he would not have undertaken this enterprise for the favour of any man, or aught else save for the love of the blessed Peter and to win the forgiveness of his sins. No treasures in the world should so work on him that he should take away from Saint Peter what he had once offered to him[3]. These last words are remarkable; Pippin seems to ground

[1] Vit. Steph. 171; "Georgius ... regem ... in finibus Longobardorum non procul a Papia reperit civitate." See Appendix 7. On the phrase "imperiali concederat ditioni." Luden (iv. 500) well adds, "nämlich unmittelbar." The Pope could not have denied some nominal overlordship.

[2] See Appendix, Note 7.

[3] "Asserens et hoc quod nulla cum thesauri copia suadere valeret ut quod semel beato Petro obtulit auferret."

the right of Saint Peter and his earthly representatives, not on any claim of earlier possession, but on his own offering, that is doubtless, on the treaty concluded with Aistulf less than two years before.

The policy of Pope Stephen had triumphed. The calling of the Patrician of the Romans was now defined. He was to work, to fight, to conquer, perhaps for the Roman Republic, though the words are now not uttered on either side. The ambiguous formula lived on, and we shall hear it again; but its use just now would have confused matters. The Republic of which Pippin was the Patrician was now clearly shown to be a republic of which, not the Emperor but the Pope was to be the practical head. But two things are to be noticed. The Emperor is quietly set aside, and his lands and cities are taken possession of in another name. But there was no formal throwing off of his authority. As long as there was an Emperor of his house, the authority of Constantine and his successors was still never denied, and was recognized in various empty forms at Rome, and therefore at Ravenna. Moreover, though Pippin so distinctly refused the Emperor's request, yet Constantine did not treat him as an enemy. Our Roman guide tells us, with some little air of triumph, that the King sent the Imperial envoy back by another way, and that he went to Rome without having done anything [1]. Marseilles was certainly not the obvious road from Pavia to either Rome or Constantinople. But we must remember that the Silentiary had seemingly been left at Marseilles, that he certainly had not gone to Pavia, and that it may be meant to mark that the two Imperial envoys parted company. Of George we hear no more. We may suppose that he went to report the ill-success of his mission to his master. Did John the Silentiary stay in the West? The very next year we shall find him again bringing friendly messages from the Emperor to the Frankish king. And

[1] "Continuo eum ad propria remeandum per aliam viam absolvit, qui et sine effectu Romam conjunxit."

we shall find the Pope looking on his presence at the Frankish court as dangerous to Papal interest.

After the Imperial envoy had gone his way, the King marched on to besiege Pavia the second time. If Tassilo had come by another road, he had joined his uncle on the march; both were before the Lombard city. The land round about Pavia was harried, and the city itself was hemmed in; the Frankish camp was pitched on both sides, and none could come forth[1]. Before long, Aistulf, giving up all hope, prayed some of the Frankish nobles and clergy to be his mediators with their King. He would abide by the judgement of those whom he begged to intercede for him in all matters touching the oaths which he had sworn to the King of the Franks and the wrongs which he had done to the Apostolic See[2]. Pippin, in answer to their prayer, allowed the King of the Lombards both to live and to remain a king[3]. But life and kingship were granted to him on somewhat hard terms. He was to give up a third part of his hoard to the King of the Franks, besides undefined presents, both to the King and seemingly also to his lords[4]. And he admitted the Frankish supremacy in the fullest shape. He swore oaths and gave hostages that he would never rebel against or withstand King Pippin or—it is added—the great men of the Franks, and that he would pay yearly, sending it by the hands of an embassage, the tribute which the Lombards had been of

[1] Cont. Fred. 121; "Circa muros Ticini *utraque parte* fixit tentoria, ita ut nullus exinde evadere potuisset." This is just after the mention of Tassilo; so Luden infers separate camps of Franks and Bavarians.

[2] See Appendix, Note 7. Aistulf approached Pippin "per supplicationem sacerdotum et optimatum Francorum veniens et pacem prædicto regi supplicans." He is ready "omnia per judicium Francorum vel sacerdotum plenissima solutione emendare."

[3] "Rex Pippinus solito more iterum misericordia motus ad petitionem optimatum suorum vitam et regnum iterato concessit."

[4] "Thesaurum qui in Ticino erat, id est tertiam partem, prædicto regi tradidit, et alia munera majora quam antea dederat *paribus* regis Pippini dedit."

old wont to pay to the kings of the Franks[1]. So far the Frankish historian, who tells us how King Pippin and his army, safe and sound, crowned with victory and loaded with treasure, went back to their homes to enjoy a rest from warfare of two years[2].

The Roman writer has something more to tell us. It was not in his eyes the most important result of the war that the Lombard kingdom should become a Frankish dependency. And Pippin this time took care to do more effectually than before what the Pope had twice prayed him to come and do. By the new treaty Aistulf bound himself afresh to give up all that he bound himself to give up by the former treaty, and a little more besides. To the cession of Ravenna and all that of late had immediately depended on Ravenna was added the cession of the islands and lagoons of Comacchio somewhat to the north[3]. They were a conquest of Agilulf in the earlier days of the Lombard kingdom (591); to give them up was in the nature of a penalty[4]. And now came in its most certain and its fullest form the famous grant of Pippin to the Roman Church. At Ponthion, at Quierzy, he could not be said to grant what he had not got; he could at most promise to grant if he should ever have the means of granting. After the first Lombard campaign there was something which, as we have seen, could be spoken of as a grant by Pippin, but which seems merely to have been a clause in the treaty, a treaty of course dictated by Pippin, by which Aistulf engaged to give up the cities which he had seized[5]. Nor do we know by what terms he bound him-

[1] "Sacramenta iterum et obsides donat, ut amplius numquam contra regem Pippinum *vel proceres Francorum* rebellis et contumax esse debeat, et tributa quæ Langobardi regi Francorum a longo tempore dederant, annis singulis *per missos suos* desolvere deberet."

[2] "Quievit terra a prœliis annis duobus."

[3] See Appendix, Note 7.

[4] Paul. Diac. iv. 3. He then speaks of "insula Comacina"; so vi. 19. In v. 39 we hear of "lacus Comacinus."

[5] See the letters of Pope Stephen quoted in Appendix, Note 7.

self either in the first or in the second treaty. But after the second campaign something more definite was needed, something that more distinctly bound both Aistulf and Pippin than the mere words of the treaty. Aistulf, the actual possessor of the cities, granted them, by a formal writing, to the blessed Peter, to the holy Roman Church, and to all the Pontiffs of the Apostolic See for ever. The charter was laid up in the archives of the Church of Rome[1]. To make all things sure, another writing, another grant, was put forth in the name of the King of the Franks. The cities, it might be held, had become his by right of conquest, and it was well to have a grant from him as well as from the vanquished prince who still held them for a moment. The famous Donation of Pippin was now put into a full and formal shape in writing, and it was made by the King of the Franks to the blessed Apostle Peter and to his Vicar and to the Pontiffs his successors for ever. The charter was laid on the tomb of the Apostle, and was doubtless kept at least as carefully as that of Aistulf[2]. Now neither is forthcoming, neither has ever been produced in later times, of neither has the text ever been printed in any book. Yet there are no documents whose actual text we more eagerly long to see; in their absence all that can be said on the detailed history of these events comes to little more than ingenious guessing.

Pippin this time took care that the places to be given up should really be given up. But he did his work by deputy. He would seem to have had enough of Italian affairs. With a singular lack at once of ordinary curiosity and of the pious zeal for pilgrimage, the Patrician of the Romans never saw Rome. Again he turned back from Pavia and went home with his victorious army. The Lombard King was seemingly so cowed by his second defeat that no military force was needed to occupy the cities. A peaceful deputation was enough to receive their

[1] See Appendix, Note 7.
[2] Ibid.

submission. Pippin left his trusted counsellor Abbot Fulrad behind, and he, in company with the commissioners of the Lombard king, went through the cities of the Pentapolis and Æmilia, entering each, receiving the keys, receiving hostages, and, seemingly besides the hostages, taking some of the chief men of each town with him to Rome[1].

The work was still going on, the Frankish and Lombard commissioners were going through the cities, but had not gone through the full tale of them, when a new series of revolutions and intrigues brought their work to a standstill. King Aistulf's reign and life did not last long after the day of his humiliation. Writers on the other side of course describe him as striving again to get out of his new engagements[2]; but there is nothing in their own narratives to show that he was doing otherwise than giving up the cities one by one. But while some were still untouched, a sudden chance cut him off. He was hunting in the royal wood by Pavia, when his horse dashed him against a tree; he fell, and, as some seem to imply, died on the spot; the tale is perhaps more likely which makes him linger for a few days[3]. His enemies, Pope

[1] Vit. Steph. 171; "Ad recipiendas ipsas civitates misit ipse Christianissimus Francorum rex consiliarium suum, id est Fulradum venerabilem abbatem et presbyterum . . . Fulradus . . . Ravennatium partes cum missis jam fati Aistulfi regis conjungens, et per singulas ingrediens civitates tam Pentapoleos quam et Æmiliæ, easque recipiens et obsides per unamquamque auferens, atque primates secum una cum clavibus portarum civitatum deferens Romam conjunxit."

[2] Ann. Laur. 756; "Dum reversus est Pippinus rex, cupiebat supradictus Haistulfus nefandus rex mentiri quæ pollicitus fuerat, obsides dulgere, sacramenta inrumpere." On the odd word "dulgere," explained "deserere, gurpire," see Ducange.

[3] Cont. Fred. 122; "Post hæc Aistulfus rex Langobardorum, dum venationem in quadam silva exerceret, divino judicio, de equo quo sedebat super quamdam arborem projectus, vitam et regnum crudeliter digna morte amisit." This doubtless gives the true cause of his death; but one would think that Einhard must have had some authority when he said; "ex hoc ægritudine contracta, intra paucos dies vivendi terminum fecit." The words of the Continuator do not necessarily imply that he died on the spot. In Ann. Laur. he is

Saxons as their head shouted over his fall; they saw in his overthrow the hand of the divine judgement; they knew his place in the nether world[1]: in his own kingdom he left behind him the name of a good and devout prince, the special friend of the monastic order[2]. His death stopped for a while the surrender of the cities; but we have a list of those which had been given up at the time of his death, which along with certain others which were surrendered afterwards, will give us a presumably accurate notion of the territorial extent of the grant of Pippin to the Roman see[3]. We cannot look in the mind of Aistulf to judge whether he had any inner purpose of escaping, if possible, from a full carrying out of his engagements. If so it were, he would be neither the first nor the last prince who has been so suspected. It would not be wonderful if he gave up first of all those cities which he could

"percussus Dei judicio," and in the Life of Stephen (171) "divino ictu percussus," a flourish borrowed, as we shall see, from a letter of Stephen's own. The next step was to take these flourishes literally, and to kill him by a thunderbolt. His death is also recorded in Ann. Petav., Guelf., Nazar.

[1] So Stephen writes to Pippin, Ep. 11 (Mon. Car. 64); "Tirannus ille sequax diaboli Haistulfus, devorator sanguinum Christianorum, ecclesiarum Dei destructor, *divino ictu percussus est*, et in inferni voraginem demersus."

Directly after, he is "divino mucrone percussus." The Pope takes care to point out that his death happened just a year after the time when he set out to besiege Rome; that is, in December, 756.

[2] See Oelsner's note, p. 283. The passage which he refers to in Chron. Sal. 7 (Pertz, iii. 475) is, as he says, partly founded on a misunderstanding; but, if it proves nothing else, it points to general Lombard opinion about Aistulf.

[3] I have discussed in Appendix, Note 7, the question whether the list of towns in the Life of Stephen, p. 171, is a list of all the towns contained in the grant of Pippin or only of those which were actually surrendered in Aistulf's lifetime. There are some difficulties about the case; but the latter view seems the most likely. The list runs thus; Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Esium, Forum Pompilii, Forum Livii, Susibio, Montifeltro, Acceragio, Montem Lucani, Sera, Castellus Sancti Mariani, Bobbio, Urbino, Callias, Luculos, Eugubium, Comacchio.

least hope to keep, and those which he least cared to keep. If any cession was to be made at all, Ravenna, the head of all, would of course be demanded as the most precious of all and the earnest of all that was to follow. The Imperial seat of the Roman and the royal seat of the Goth, the tomb of Honorius and the tomb of Theodoric, the churches and baptisteries which Catholic and Arian had once held under an equal law of toleration, the palaces of emperors, kings, and exarchs, the many-coloured forms of the princes of East and West, all, after their short Lombard occupation, again passed under the dominion of Rome, though of a Rome which, for purposes of practical possession, was now represented by its Bishop and no longer by its Cæsar. The city which Alaric shrank from attacking, which held out for three whole years against Theodoric, gave up its keys without a blow at the bidding of the Abbot of Saint Denis and of the commissioner of the Lombard king who came as his comrade. With Ravenna passed the whole coast as far as the most ancient boundary of Italy and Gaul. Rimini, first prize of the Roman who came from Gaul to conquer Italy; the Gallic Sena, first colony of Rome on Gaulish soil, were alike handed over by the German lord of Gaul to the new power which was setting up its claim as the representative of Roman Italy. With them passed other cities of the coast and of the inland, Comacchio, severed, as the penalty of a second defeat, from the Lombard Austria, and inland Eugubium cut off in the like sort from the Lombard Tuscany. The lands of Saint Peter, of the Roman Church, of the Roman Republic, stretched, though in some parts by a narrow isthmus, from the one sea to the other, from the mouths of the Po to the mouths of the Tiber. Narni too, the precious hill fortress, subject of special complaints and special negotiations, gave up its keys and sent its hostages at the bidding of Fulrad and his companions[1]. But the

[1] On Narni see above, p. 174. Its surrender is mentioned specially with a kind of triumph; "Necnon et civitatem Narniensem, quæ

lands which, whether through chance or design, remained unsurrendered at the death of Aistulf, are not without geographical significance. Gavello, Ferrara, Bologna, Faenza, were still in Lombard hands, keeping a solid zone of Lombard territory between the Lombard Austria and the Lombard Tuscany, and leaving to Saint Peter only a narrow strip by the sea in the northern part of his recovered estate. At the other end, Ancona, Humana, and Osimo, still enlarged the maritime border of the duchy of Spoleto to the north. From whatever motive, Aistulf had put off the surrender of these places till the last. Their keys had not been given up when Aistulf was so suddenly taken away. Abbot Fulrad had to go to Rome with his work not wholly finished. The natural inference is that the Lombard commissioners refused to act any further till there was again a King of the Lombards in whose name they could act. And Fulrad might well think it hazardous to go on to demand the surrender of fortified cities, in the name indeed of the mighty King of the Franks, but seemingly without a single armed man to enforce his master's bidding.

§ 6. *The Later Dealings of Pippin with Italy.* 756–768.

An event of such moment in general history as the intervention of Pippin in Italian affairs cannot be called an episode, and yet it has something of the character of an episode as regards his own calling as a King of the Franks, whose immediate duties lay in Germany and Gaul. We may indeed suspect that, from the end of his first campaign, Pippin was not quite so zealous for the claims of Saint Peter and his Vicar as he perhaps was at the time of the conference at Ponthion and even of the Marchfield at Perny. Even after his first victory, he seems anxious to

a ducatu Spoletani a parte Romanorum per evoluta annorum spatia fuerat invasa." Yet one who did not know the story might doubt from the Latin which was the invader.

get back to his own kingdom; the Roman Patrician does not visit Rome. After the practical failure of his first campaign, he needs a great deal of pressing, and in a most singular shape, before he can be got to undertake a second. After his second campaign, his second victory, he again goes home with all speed; he leaves Abbot Fulrad to carry his treaties and charters into execution. He had evidently had enough of Italian warfare and of Italian affairs of all kinds. From Italian warfare he contrived to keep himself clear for the rest of his days; from all dealings with Italian affairs of other kinds he could not wholly keep himself, but he clearly had no fancy for meddling with them more than he could help. No doubt he had plenty to do in his own kingdom; Aquitaine and Bavaria, under Waifar and Tassilo, touched him far more nearly than the Roman Church and the Roman Republic. He must have seen that he had stepped beyond the natural sphere of a Frankish king, and he could hardly be expected to understand of how great things he was the instrument, for how great events he was opening the way, when he hearkened to the œcumenical temptations of Pope Stephen rather than to the local prudence of his brother Karlmann. He perhaps came, as a Frankish king, to feel that Karlmann had been the wiser, and made up his mind to be as little of a Roman Patrician as he could. And assuredly he had been deceived, and he had found out that he had been deceived. Yet he could not back out of his engagements; he could not openly quarrel with Saint Peter and his Vicar. For the last twelve years of his reign Pippin meddled as little in Italian affairs as he could; but he could not keep himself out of them; least of all could he keep successive Popes from writing him letters as to which we are sometimes curious to know whether they always got answers.

In treating of the reign of Pippin, then, we cannot altogether turn our backs on Italy, and Italian affairs occupy him more or less down to the end of his reign. But for his last twelve years Italian affairs are quite secondary

to his main work elsewhere, and have only an occasional and indirect bearing on that work. With the affairs of Bavaria and Aquitaine a new and stirring chapter in Pippin's life opens, a chapter quite as busy, if not so striking, as the chapter in which Italy holds the first place. Meanwhile all that he has now to do with Italy seems like a few pages of the old chapter going on alongside of the new one. While armies are yearly crossing the Loire the letters that are almost daily crossing the Alps are but a faint survival of the days when armies crossed the Alps also, a faint foreshadowing of the days when they were to cross the Alps again. The relations between Italy and the Frankish lands during Pippin's later years are the mere after-pieces of the stirring drama of the central years of his reign. It may be well to deal with them as such. In this present section then we will go on with the tale of Pippin's Italian dealings down to his death, and we will then come back to enter on the short tale of his final overthrow of the Saracen in Gaul, and on the long tale of his recovery of Aquitaine to Frankish rule.

Aistulf, so suddenly cut off after the double defeat of his great plans, left no son to succeed him. On his death the crown of Lombardy, now a vassal crown of the Frankish kingdom, was disputed between two claimants. One party favoured the claims of Desiderius—mark the Roman name, first and last in the roll of Lombard kings—the marshal or staller of the late king, whom he had set over the duchy of Tuscany[1]. His home seems to have been Brescia, where he and his wife Ansa founded a monastery of nuns[2]. Of any claim that he had on the Lombard crown, whether by descent, by bequest, or by formal popular election, we hear nothing. It would seem to have

[1] In the Life, p. 171, he is "Desiderius quidam dux Longobardorum qui ab eodem nequissimo Aistulfo Tusciæ in partes erat directus." Einhard, who, with Ann. Laur., cuts his accession short, describes him as "qui comes stabuli ejus erat."

[2] See Oelsner, p. 284, note 2.

been held that the death of Aistulf had left the kingdom open to any one who could seize on it; Desiderius was the first to strike for the prize, and he found the province over which he was set to rule ready to support him in his attempt. When he heard of the vacancy of the throne, he set forth at the head of the whole force of Tuscany to take possession [1]. But the general wish of the Lombard nation was not with him. Not a few on both sides of the Apennines looked with scorn on the pretensions of Desiderius. Their candidate was one whom we should hardly have looked for. Again, as when Karlmann made his journey to withstand Pope Stephen in the Frankish Marchfield, did the gates of Monte Cassino open to let a servant of Saint Benedict go forth and mingle in the affairs of the world. But Karlmann went at the bidding of his abbot and his king, and he sought nothing of earthly honour for himself. We know not how so great a breach of monastic rule came about; but Ratchis, the former King of the Lombards, the elder brother of Aistulf, had by this time repented him of his religious vows, and went forth to claim again the crown which he had laid aside. His march must have been speedy; before the year was out, he was accepted by the more part of the Lombard nation; for three months he sat as King in the palace of Pavia [2]; he had partisans even in Tuscany [3], and when

[1] Vit. Steph. 171; "Audiens præfatum obiisse Aistulfum, illico aggregans ipsius Tusciæ universam exercituum multitudinem, regno Longobardorum arripere nixus est fastigium." He set out *πανδημεί*.

[2] Ib.; "Cujus personam despectui habens Radchisus dudum rex et postmodum monachus, germanus præfati Aistulfi, sed et alii plures Longobardorum optimates cum eo eundem Desiderium spernentes plurimam Transalpium vel cæterum Longobardorum exercituum multitudinem aggregantes." "Alps" must here mean "Apennines."

The length of the second reign of Ratchis comes from the Annals of Brescia, Pertz, iii. 239; "Aistulfus rex obiit, gubernavitque palacium Ticinense Ratchis, gloriosus germanus ejus, dudum rex, tunc autem Christi famulus, a Decembris usque Martium."

[3] See Oelsner, 285, note 3, for a Pisan charter of February, 757, dated as in the first year of Ratchis.

he gathered a host to go forth against his rival, the cause of Desiderius seemed hopeless[1].

That Desiderius was in every sense the national candidate appears by the means by which he was at last set on the Lombard throne. He betook himself to the Pope, promising, if by papal help he should be set upon the throne, to obey in all things the Pontiff's will, to restore to the Republic—so runs the form—all the cities which Aistulf had not given up, and to add costly gifts besides[2]. But the Pope was not the only power to speak in this matter. His right-hand man at this moment was the chief counsellor of the King of the Franks. Abbot Fulrad was at Rome. Now that Lombardy had become a kingdom dependent on the Frank, the overlord or his representative might fairly claim a voice in disposing of the vassal crown. The advances of Desiderius were favourably listened to; Fulrad and another Frankish envoy Robert, together with envoys from the Pope, Stephen's own brother and soon to be successor, the Deacon Paul, and Christopher the *Primicerius*, were sent into Tuscany to him[3]. To

[1] The Continuations of Paul the Deacon tell us very little. The "Continuatio Tertia," chiefly copied from the Lives of the Popes, does put in an original remark here and there, and just now we get a few (Scriptt. Rer. Lang. 211); "Videns Desiderius se non posse retinere quod ceperat, nisi Romanorum et Francorum favore uteretur seu juvaretur."

[2] Vit. Steph. 172; "Desiderius obnixe beatissimum pontificem deprecatus est sibi auxilium ferre, quatenus ipsam regalem valeret assumere dignitatem, spondens jurejurando omnem præfati beatissimi pontificis adimplere voluntatem; insuper se reipublicæ se redditurum professus est civitates quæ remanserant, immo et copiosa daturum munera." The word "respublica," standing quite by itself, sounds as if it might be a scrap of Desiderius' own words. If so, it is significant in connexion with what followed.

[3] Vit. Steph. u. s. Robert appears as Pippin's "missus" along with Fulrad in the letters of Paul; Mon. Car. 77, 78, 80, 82. He is "Rodbertus," once "Ruodbertus." Einhard in a letter in p. 463 of the same volume has an older form "Hruotbertus." Christopher is here "consiliarius"; he appears as "primicerius" in letters of later Popes (128, 168) when he was not so well thought of as now.

them he promised, both by solemn oaths and by a written charter, to give up to the Pope, at one end the towns of Ferrara, Faenza, and Imola, with their territories, and at the other end Ancona, Osimo, and Humana[1]. On one point alone he seems first to have hesitated and then to have yielded. Bologna was made the subject of a special engagement, not made by Desiderius himself to the envoys in Tuscany, but by a duke Garrinod and another envoy Grimoald, sent for that purpose by Desiderius to Rome[2]. On the strength of these promises and of a further promise of fealty to the King of the Franks[3], Desiderius was accepted as King of the Lombards by Stephen and Fulrad. Their will was made known by a letter from the Pope (757) addressed to Ratchis and the whole Lombard nation, and seemingly carried to Pavia by an envoy of Stephen's of his own name, a man of Sicily, now cardinal-priest of Saint Cecily, afterwards to be the present Pope's successor next but one. In that letter he called on the Lombards to submit to Desiderius without any shedding of blood[4]. Whether Fulrad went with the envoy Stephen is not

[1] Vit. Steph. 172; "Per scriptam paginam terribili juramento isdem Desiderius cunctam professus est superius annexam sponsionem adimplere." Stephen himself (Mon. Car. 64) says more definitely, "In præsentia ipsius Folradi sub jurejurando pollicitus est restituendas beato Petro civitates reliquas; Vaventia Imulas et Ferraria cum eorum finibus, simul etiam et salaria et omnia territoria, necnon et Ancimam Ancona, et Hunena civitates cum eorum territoriis." The Continuator of Paul the Deacon adds a special engagement; "Se . . . pro Romano populo et Romana ecclesia pugnaturum."

[2] Mon. Car. 64; "Postmodum per Garrimodum ducem et Grimoaldum nobis reddendam spopondit civitatem Bononiam cum finibus suis."

[3] Ib.; "Fidelem erga a Deo protectum regnum vestrum esse testatus est."

[4] Vit. Steph. 172; "Suum missum, id est Stephanum venerabilem presbyterum cum apostolicis exhortatoriis literis præfato Radchiso vel cunctæ genti Longobardorum direxit." The priest Stephen, the future Pope, will often come again. The Continuator of Paul the Deacon brings in the Pope as "rogans et obtestans ut a civilis effusione sanguinis abstinerent."

clear; but he showed himself at the head of a few Franks as a supporter of Desiderius, and threatened the coming of a Roman army if resistance was offered[1]. An unsupported Roman army might not be very frightful to a Lombard king and his people; but there was a chance of the Franks coming a third time, and Desiderius doubtless still had partisans in Tuscany. Opposition ceased; no sword was drawn against the nominee of the Bishop of Rome and the Abbot of Saint Denis. Ratchis withdrew again to his monastery[2] (March, 757); Desiderius, by the authority of Abbot Fulrad, mounted the Lombard throne[3]. It would seem that possession was secured, even without the formal approval of the Frankish overlord; but one of the first acts of the new king, the mildest of men, as he seemed at this moment in papal eyes, was to pray the Pope to procure for him a fuller assurance of peace and friendship at the hands of the King beyond the Alps[4].

The letter from which we learn many of these details, the last which Pope Stephen wrote to the king whom he had anointed, speaks as if no news as to Lombard affairs

[1] Vit. Steph. 172; "Properans et ipse Fulradus venerabilis cum aliquantis Francis in auxilium ipsius Desiderii, sed et plures exercitus Romanorum, si necessitas exigeret, in ejus disposuit occurri adjutorium."

[2] At least he died there, according to the Chronicle of Saint Benedict; Pertz, iii. 200.

[3] "Cujus [papæ] verbis emolliti Langobardi ad sua quisque redierunt," says the Continuator of Paul. In the Life of Stephen Desiderius reigns "per coangelici papæ concursum." Stephen himself tells Pippin how "Dei providentia per manus sui principis apostolorum beati Petri, simul et per tuum fortissimum brachium, præcurrente industria Dei amabilis viri Folradi tui fidelis nostri dilecti filii, ordinatus est rex super gentem Langobardorum Desiderius, *vir mitissimus*." But the strong arm of the King was far away; it was the industry of the present Abbot that did whatever was done. Cf. Ann. Mett. 756; "Langobardi ex consilio Pippini regis et procerum suorum Desiderium regem Langobardorum constituunt."

[4] Mon. Car. 64; "Petiit nos quatenus bonitatem tuam deprecaremur, ut cum eo et cuncta gente Langobardorum magnam pacis concordiam confirmare jubeas."

had reached the Frankish court for three months. The death of Aistulf and the accession of Desiderius are announced together; the name of Ratchis is not mentioned. But the Pope has other Lombard news to tell the King. The hand of Saint Peter and the strong arm of the Frankish king, both of them alike unseen powers, had been doing great things. It was through their influence that the whole people of the duchy of Spoleto had made themselves a new duke, Alboin by name, a man favourable to the purposes of the Pope and the King[1]. Duke Liudprand of Benevento, as we have seen, had given their cause at least negative help[2], and both duchies were now, according to the Pope, eager to commend themselves, as Desiderius had done, to the Frankish king[3]. Yet while things were going on so swimmingly, the Pope still had his doubts as to the good faith of that mildest of men whom he had helped to set on the throne of Pavia. Desiderius had promised, but he had as yet only promised; it was for Pippin to see that he fulfilled his promise. He reminds the King of his oaths, of the treaty, confirmed by his own charter[4]; he goes moreover into the absolute necessity of the cession of the remaining cities. Abbot Fulrad, who had examined into the matter, will tell him how impossible it is for the land to be divided; all the cities had always been used to live under the same rule[5]. Nothing could

[1] Mon. Car. 65; "Spolætini ducatus generalitas per manus beati Petri et tam fortissimum brachium constiterat sibi ducem." His name appears in p. 79 and in several charters; Oelsner, 289.

[2] See above, p. 40; Oelsner, 265.

[3] Mon. Car. 65; "Tam ipsi Spolitini quamque etiam Beneventani omnes se commendare per nos a Deo servatæ tuæ excellentiæ tuæ cupiunt."

[4] Ib. 64, 65. It is here that we get the wonderful formula, "Desiderius spopondit justitiam *sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ rei puplicæ Romanorum beato Petro* protectori tuo plenius restituere." We then read "sicut in pactibus a tua bonitate confirmatis." That is surely the treaty after the first campaign confirmed by Pippin's charter after the second.

[5] The expression (ib. 63, 64) is remarkable; "Deo amabilis

be more true; only Pippin must by this time have found out that the rule under which they had lived together was indeed that of the Roman Republic, but not in any sense in which the Roman Republic was held to be the same thing as Saint Peter and the holy Church of Rome.

Meanwhile the Emperor of the Republic[1] was not wholly idle as concerned his Italian dominions. The Pope shows some alarm at the news that his old colleague in that Emperor's service, John the Silentiary, was at the Frankish court on the errand of their common sovereign. With him was again joined the same George of whom we have often heard before on the like errand[2]. It did not suit Stephen's purposes that the prince whom he had defrauded and the prince whom he had taught to defraud him should draw too near together. It would seem that the Imperial embassy came in answer to one which the Frankish king had sent to Constantinople[3]. The Pope of course gives the first place to his fears that some harm may happen to the Faith through such dangerous dealings between the orthodox King and the heretical Emperor[4]. But he seems more in earnest when he sets forth, in somewhat dark language, his dread lest, after all, the cities which the Frank had won from the Lombard should again

Folradus, fidelis vester, omnia conspitiens satisfactus est, quod nequaquam ipse populus vivere possit extra eorum fines et territoria atque possessiones, absque civitatibus illis quæ semper cum eis sub unius dominii ditione erant connexæ."

[1] See the phrase of Gregory the Great.

[2] George is not mentioned in the present letter; but he appears in p. 74 as "Georgius imperialis missus qui hic Franciæ adfuit." So pp. 79, 102.

[3] Cont. Fred. 123; "Dum hæc agerentur, rex Pippinus legationem Constantinopolim ad Constantinum imperatorem amicitiæ causa et salutis suæ patriæ mittens, similiter et Constantinus imperator legationem prædicto regi cum multis muneribus mittens, et amicitias et fidem per legatos eorum vicissim inter se promittunt."

[4] Mon. Car. 65; "Et hoc obnixe postulamus præcelsam bonitatem tuam, ut, inspiratus a Deo et ejus principe apostolorum beato Petro, ita disponere jubeas de parte Grecorum ut fides sancta catholica et apostolica per te integra et inconcussa permaneat in eternum."

pass to their ancient master. The holy Church of God must be made safe against the baleful malice of the Greeks; Pippin, if he cares for the safety of his soul, must take care that the Church loses naught of the lands and goods by which the service of God was kept up and the poor and the pilgrims fed and comforted[1]. He prays that he may be told what discourse goes on between the King and the Silentiary, on what terms they part, what may be the form of letters which the King gives him for the Emperor[2]. He betrays some lurking fear that something may come of this embassy inconsistent with the common action of Pope and King and of Abbot Fulrad as the King's representative[3].

Of this letter Abbot Fulrad was himself the bearer, along with two papal envoys, George, Bishop of Ostia, and John, *regionarius* and *sacellarius*—the latter office must not be taken for that of a chaplain; it is he who has the bag[4]. Fulrad went back loaded with bulls and privileges, which Stephen still dated by the years of his lord, the most pious Constantine Augustus, the great Emperor crowned by God[5]. The envoys of Pope and Emperor, the men who had come from the Old Rome and from the New, met in the presence

[1] Mon. Car. 66; "Et sancta Dei ecclesia, sicut ab aliis, et ab eorum pestifera malitia liberetur et secura reddatur, atque omnia propriætatis suæ percipiat, unde pro animæ vestræ salute indefessa luminariorum concinnatio Dei ecclesiis permaneat et esuries pauperum egenorum vel peregrinorum nihilominus refectatur et ad rerum saturitatem perveniat."

[2] Ib.; "Qualiter autem cum silentiario locuti fueritis vel quomodo eum tua bonitas absolverit, una cum exemplari literarum quas ei dederitis, nos certiores reddite."

[3] Ib.; "Ut sciamus qualiter in commune concordia agamus sicut inter nos et Fulradum Deo amabilem constitit."

[4] Ib. John is "regionarius nosterque sacellarius." On this last word see Ducange in SACCUS.

One or two other points are mentioned in the letter. The King is asked to send back Bishop Wilhar (see above, p. 178), and it is now that the Pope sends the message from Abbot Optatus about the monks who went with Karlmann.

[5] Oelsner, p. 287.

of the Frankish king and the Frankish nation, on the day of the Mayfield of Compiègne[1] (May, 757). That Mayfield was memorable on other grounds. Legislation was busy at it; Capitularies were put forth, to which the consent of the papal envoys is recorded[2]. It was there too that Duke Tassilo made that special and solemn homage to his uncle, of which we shall see elsewhere that much came in after times[3]. But of the diplomatic conferences between the powers of East and West, we hear never a word; we know not what report the papal envoys took back to the Old Rome, or what letters the Silentiary took back to the New. The one thing which seems to have specially struck the Frankish mind, and which is recorded in annals which leave out many weightier matters, was that the Emperor sent the King the friendly gift of an organ, a thing never before seen in the Frankish land[4]. But we have a dark hint that the minds of King and Emperor were turned towards friendship and unity in the interest of their several realms, but that by some influence, which our informant does not choose to name, their good purposes were brought to nought[5]. It is not perhaps hard to guess that the sower of strife between King and Emperor was the same whom a plain-spoken writer had already spoken

[1] Einhard (757) at least distinctly asserts the reception of the Imperial envoys at Compiègne; "Constantinus imperator misit Pipino regi multa munera, inter quæ et organum, quæ ad eum in Compandio villa pervenerunt, ubi tunc populi sui generalem conventum habuit." Ann. Laur. have only, "qui in Franciam usque pervenit."

[2] The presence of George and John appears from the consent which they give to many clauses in the Capitulary of Compiègne; Pertz, Legg., i. 28, 29.

[3] See the next section, p. 217.

[4] Ann. Pet. 757; "Venit organa in Franciam." So Ann. Laur., Alan., Guelf., Nazar., Sangal., Maj. (Pertz, i. 74), Mett. "Constantinus imperator misit regi Pippino inter cetera dona organum, quod antea non visum fuerat in Francia."

[5] Cont. Fred. 123; "Nescio quo faciente, postea amicitia quam inter se mutuo promiserant nullatenus sortita est effectum."

of as the sower of strife between Frank and Lombard[1]. And it may be thought a comment on this obscure passage that the very next year we find one of the Imperial envoys who had appeared at Compiègne taking counsel with the Lombard king with a view to bring back Ravenna and Rome itself to their lawful allegiance[2].

The hand of Saint Peter and the strong arm of King Pippin prevailed so far in Italy that Desiderius, like his predecessor, was led to carry out part of his promises. He gave up Ferrara and its duchy, Faenza, and Gavello[3]. Imola, with Ancona and the other southern cities, remained to furnish Stephen's successors with matter of complaint. As this cession took place during Stephen's lifetime, it must have happened while the envoys of Pope and Emperor were at the Frankish court or on their way thither. For Stephen died a few days before the opening of the Mayfield (April 26, 757), having, as his last act, written or dictated a terrible letter to the Frankish king, bidding him abide by all his promises. So at least a successor of Stephen could tell the sons of Pippin[4]; but it has not found its way into that collection of papal letters which one of those sons caused to be put together. The pontificate of Stephen was a memorable one; his admiring biographer could boast that he had enlarged the borders of the Republic and guarded the Lord's sheep committed to his charge[5]. The founder of the temporal power of the Popes may indeed claim a place among those who have largely helped to shape the history of the world.

[1] See above, p. 133.

[2] Mon. Car. 74, 75.

[3] Vit. Steph. 172.

[4] Mon. Car. 162; "Qualiter vos prelatus domnus Stephanus papa in suo transitu per sua scripta sub terribili adjuratione adhortari studuit," &c.

[5] Vit. Steph. 172; "Annuente Deo, rempublicam dilatavit, et universam dominicam plebem . . . ab insidiis eruit." This is the passage where Sismondi so oddly sees a "sovereign people."

But an impartial spectator of his acts may be allowed to doubt whether the object was beneficial, and still more whether the means by which it was sought were honourable. It was certainly time for Latin Italy to throw off its dependence on distant Emperors who were fast becoming Roman in name only. But the means by which that object had been sought when Gregory offered the consulship to Charles Martel, the means by which it was sought when Leo placed the crown on the head of Charles the Great—that is, the open casting away of an allegiance which had survived its time of usefulness—was surely more worthy of the spiritual head of Western Christendom than the underhand way in which Stephen and his immediate successors undermined a power which they did not dare openly to revolt against. To choose a Latin Emperor, to assert that the Old Rome had as good a right to choose its sovereign as the New, to cast aside the Imperial name altogether and again to place a consul at the head of the Republic, were at least straightforward courses, capable of defence on many grounds. Wiser perhaps, if the deep hatred of ages could have been so far lulled as to consent to it, might it have been, instead of bringing in the dominion of the Frank, to have accepted the dominion of the Lombard, and to have changed Liudprand, or even Aistulf, into a national King of Latin Italy. The same chance of an Italian kingdom was offered in their day which had been offered in the days of Theodoric, which was to be offered again in the days of the Emperor, Lewis the Second, in the more distant days of King Manfred of Sicily. In every case the chance was missed; in the case immediately before us the chance was more promising than it had been at any time since the death of the mighty Goth. It was missed because what we call promising seemed at the time to be threatening. Emperor, Pope, Frank, all of them in the eyes of the local Rome seemed better than the Lombard. In such a state of things the Roman bishops, Stephen foremost among them, had the master-hand. The

people fell unto them, and thereout sucked they no small advantage. A Pope like Innocent the Third or Gregory the Seventh would have found his place at such a time. We might or might not have approved his acts; but they would at least have been acts on a heroic scale and done in the face of day. Under Stephen the foundations of the temporal power were laid in fraud, and they were presently strengthened by falsehood. Pavia, Compiègne, Constantinople itself, had none who could plot back again with equal skill. But Pippin himself, wearied year after year with appeals which came perhaps to his German ears only in a shorter form, must surely have rued the day when he welcomed the tempter at Ponthion, and unwittingly pledged his faith to promises of which he knew not the full meaning.

The election of the next Pope had to be made under new circumstances. The formula is extant by which the choice of the clergy and people of Rome was announced to the Exarch at Ravenna, and his consent, or that of his Imperial master, was craved in somewhat lowly terms [1]. There was now no Exarch to whom to announce the choice; Ravenna had become, by some tenure or another, the Pope's own city; and it might be doubtful how far the distant Patrician of the Romans had succeeded to the rights of the lieutenant of his Emperor. The new Pope was one who knew how to act in such a case. The election had fallen on the deacon Paul, the brother of Stephen. He forthwith wrote to King and Patrician to announce, partly in words borrowed from the old formula, the death of his brother

[1] Liber Diurnus, lx. p. 115, Rozière; "Iterum atque iterum impensius, præcelse et a Deo conservate domine, supplicamus ut celerius, Deo inspirante, apostolicam sedem de perfecta ejusdem nostri patris ordinatione adornare præcipiatis," &c. Garnier remarks that there is no mention of any application to the Emperor. He adds, "crediderim facile temporibus Gregorii II exarchos tyrannide quadam suam imperatoris nomine concessionem pecuniæ vendidisse, ideoque humilibus precibus quasi rei dominos exoratos fuisse."

and his own election[1]. But he merely announces the facts; he asks for no confirmation on the part of the Patrician; he only mentions that he has thought good that Immo, an envoy of Pippin's who was then at Rome, should stay and witness the rite of his consecration[2] (May 29, 757). He protests the zeal of himself and the Rome people towards the King; he wishes every blessing for himself and his house; but there is not a word to imply that anything was lacking in the claim of a Pope-elect whom the Roman people had chosen.

Before long the letter of the Pope himself is followed by one from the Roman Senate and People[3]. They set forth the merits of their new Bishop; they profess their devotion to the King; he is, next to God, their helper and defender; their words may be taken as implying that he may be needed to step in in that character; but nothing definite is asked; still less is there any word implying that their choice of a pastor needed any confirmation at his hands. By the change of masters or protectors, the papacy had taken a great step towards independence, but one which it was not to keep undisturbed.

The pontificate of Paul lasted more than ten years; it is singular that his Life does not contain the name of Pippin. But it tells us how the new pontiff, a model of every virtue, more than once sent envoys and letters to the Emperors Constantine and Leo in the hope of working on their minds in the great controversy about images[4]. But the letters sent by Paul to Pippin were many, and they set before us King, Pope, and Emperor, as all of them busy

[1] Cf. Lib. Diurn. lix. p. 109 with Mon. Car. 67. There is the usual appeal to the stones.

[2] Ib. 68. He is to stay "donec Dei providentia sacra apostolica benedictione inlustrati fuissemus." He is as yet only "Paulus diaconus et in Dei nomine electus sanctæ sedis apostolicæ."

[3] Ib. 69. The letter comes from "omnis senatus atque universa populi generalitas a Deo servatæ Romanæ urbis."

[4] Vit. Paul. 173. The Emperors are "præfati Constantinus et Leo Augusti," without any words of abuse.

about more earthly matters. Or rather the Pope and the Emperor, and the Lombard king also, are all of them busy in their several ways; the Frankish king is rather prayed to make himself busy in the way which in papal eyes most became him.

§ 7. *The Taking of Narbonne and the Aquitanian War.* 757–768.

In the last eleven years of Pippin's reign we come back to something more like the ordinary course of the reign of a Frankish ruler. Italian affairs, as we have seen, are brought to our notice only through the correspondence of the Popes. Pippin, in his character of Patrician of the Romans, has to read a good many letters, he sends some of his own, but he does not seem to do a single thing. But the older relations, the older duties, of a leader of the Franks, king or mayor, press fast on him. He has to deal with the affairs of Bavaria, of Saxony, of Septimania not yet wholly won back for Christendom, of Aquitaine, already suspected, if not formally hostile. And he has moreover to carry on the still more immediate duties which touch him as ruler of his own Church and realm. In all these ways, the eleven years which followed the Italian wars of Pippin are full of events, many of them important events. From one point of view, the point of œcumenical history, the most memorable event of these years was the recovery of Narbonne, which for the first time brought the whole of Gaul under Frankish dominion or supremacy, and which again brought all Gaul within the bounds of Christendom. In the immediate history of the time, the side of the times which stands out most prominently is the nine years' war which brought Aquitaine again under Frankish dominion, and which called for the constant exercise of the full energies of the Frankish king up to the last days of his reign and life.

After the return of the Frankish army from Italy, the land again enjoyed a short interval of peace. The time during which no sword was drawn is reckoned at two years[1] (756–758); if this reckoning is exact, it must mean a space of twenty-four months, for it is impossible to see more than one whole kalendar year free from warfare. That distinction belongs to the year 757 of our usual reckoning, a year which, as always happens with these peaceful years, is marked by important acts both in civil and ecclesiastical matters. A new step is taken in the developement of those relations which arose out of the union of the Roman practice of grants of land on tenure of military service, and the Teutonic practice of the personal commendation of a man to his lord. We now see what, for want of a better name, we are driven to call the feudal relation formally extended to transactions on a greater scale. The *fief*, the *loan*, whatever the matter of the *beneficium* is to be called, now appears in the shape of the lordship of a land, the leadership of a people.

The Mayfield of this year was held at the royal dwelling-place of Compiègne, that one of the homes of ancient kingship in Gaul which kept up its place to our own day as the home of kings and tyrants as long as either king or tyrant was left to dwell in it. While so many other of the old places of assembly have to be sought out on the map with some pains in obscure villages or on sites altogether doubtful, *Compendium* by the great *Silva Cotia* abides and flourishes, and has prevailed so far as to bestow its own name on the ancient wood. Local belief, with what authority I know not, places the most ancient royal house on the highest part of the present town, near the church of Saint James, whose lofty tower disputes with the Town

[1] Cont. Fred. 124; "His itaque gestis [the events of 757] et duobus annis cum terra cessasset a prœliis." We must remember that he does not mention the Septimanian or Saxon wars, through which omission his dates (758–9) seem to have got wrong.

House the first place among the objects which mark Compiègne from the distance. The later Karlings and their successors had their castle on the lower ground by the Oise, where the huge round tower now partly broken down marks the site. The more modern castle or palace, from the fourteenth century onwards, stands on yet a third site. Here Pippin, whose favourite haunts seem to have all lain in this region, held this year a memorable assembly. Thither, it would seem, came the ambassadors of the Emperor whose mission has already been spoken of in its relation to the affairs of Italy [1]. Thither undoubtedly came the men who ran on the errand of the Pope, to hinder any good understanding between the two greatest among Christian princes [2]. The two Italian bishops, George and John, had indeed other business to attend to; their names are set to several of the decrees of the ecclesiastical synod which accompanied or followed the Mayfield, and whose care was chiefly given to the stricter enforcement of the canonical rules of marriage [3]. But in the general course of the history the most striking event was the solemn homage done by the young Duke Tassilo of Bavaria to his uncle the Frankish king [4]. Nine years earlier, when the nephew was a child and the uncle was not yet a king, the uncle had restored the Bavarian duchy to the nephew, and we heard a distinctly feudal phrase used in recording the

[1] See above, p. 210.

[2] See above, p. 211.

[3] See the Capitulary in Pertz, Legg. i. p. 27.

[4] The Continuator does not mention Tassilo's name at this stage, nor does it come in the smaller annals; but the whole matter is brought out emphatically in Ann. Laurissenses.

"Rex Pippinus tenuit placitum suum in Compendio cum Francis, ibique Tassilo venit dux Baioariorum, in vasatico se commendans per manus, sacramenta juravit multa et innumerabilia, reliquias sanctorum martyrum manus imponens, et fidelitatem promisit regi Pippino et supradictis filiis ejus, domus Carolo et Carlomanno, sic ut vassus recta mente et firma devotione per justitiam, sicut vassus dominos suos esse deberet." Einhard puts the same facts into better Latin. On the homage see Ranke, W. G. v. 47.

transaction. Tassilo held his dominions as a *beneficium* from Pippin or from Pippin's nominal master[1]. Since that time, Tassilo, older grown, had learned to practise the position of a prince free to act within his own dominions but bound to faithful service to a superior lord beyond their borders. We have seen him follow his uncle and lord into Italy; the year of that expedition was marked in the internal history of the Bavarian duchy by the ecclesiastical synod of Aschheim, in which the Duke, surrounded by the Bishops of his own duchy and legislating for the welfare of the Church of his own duchy, shows his independent side as clearly as in the Lombard campaigns he shows his dependent side. He was now called on to show his dependent side more clearly and fully than ever.

If the language of the record which has already been referred to is to be strictly construed, the duchy of Bavaria was held as a *benefice* of the Frankish king—the rights of Childeric, in this matter, as in all others, had passed to Pippin; it followed therefore that the holder of that duchy was Pippin's *vassal*. As such, he was bound to commend himself personally to his lord. The relation was not new, the name was not new; but this is perhaps the first case of either appearing on what we may call an international scale. The supremacy of the Frankish kings over Bavaria had hitherto been more like that of the stronger city or the stronger prince in the old relation of dependent alliance; that laxer tie is now changed into a feudal relation of the strictest kind. Whether his faithfulness was already doubted or not, Tassilo was now called on to carry out his share of the mutual relation, to become his uncle's vassal for the benefice which his uncle had granted him. According to Frankish fashion, the fashion established

[1] In 748, according to Ann. Laurissenses, Pippin "Tassilonem in ducatu Baioariorum conlocavit *per suum beneficium*." The word seems to be putting on its technical meaning.

between Frankish subjects and their king, but new between the Frankish king and a Bavarian duke, Duke Tassilo, seemingly on his knees, placed his hands between the hands of King Pippin and commended himself to him as a vassal to his lord. The march of institutions in these matters was faster on the Frankish mainland than it was in our island. The change from the older to the newer relations between the Frank and the Bavarian reminds us of the difference between the days when the king and people of the Scots sought Edward the Unconquered to father and lord and the days when King John of Scotland received his kingdom from a later Edward, accompanied by all the accidence of feudal tenure which had grown up in the meanwhile. Other events in our own history are suggested by other details of the story. The act of homage was not enough; an ordinary oath was not; Tassilo was led about to some of the holiest places of Gaul to pledge his faith in the most terror-striking way on the relics of the great saints of Gaul, each in his own sanctuary. He was led to Saint Denis, there to swear on the body of the saint from whom Fulrad's abbey took its name, and on the bodies of his satellites Rusticus and Eleutherius. Then he swore at Paris on the body of Saint German; he was even taken as far as Tours to plight his oath once more on the wonder-working body of Saint Martin[1]. At each of these holy places Tassilo swore to be faithful all the days of his life to the three Kings of the Franks, to Charles and Karlmann, no less than to their father Pippin. Tassilo doubtless knew on what he was swearing; otherwise this awful succession of oaths—following an act of homage—might remind us of the unwitting oath on the like holy things into which Norman writers tell us that

[1] The march or pilgrimage is described in Ann. Laur., which say further that the oath was taken not only "in locis superius nominatis" ("in prædictis venerabilibus locis," says Einhard), but "et in aliis multis." Saint German is, I suppose, he of Paris, not of Auxerre.

a Norman duke entrapped an English earl. Nor was the personal homage and oath of the Duke of the Bavarians deemed enough. The chief men of Bavaria had come with their prince, and all were called on to swear the same oath as their prince in each of the holy places where he swore it[1]. One step only was wanting to call up the Gemót of Salisbury before our eyes. The elders of Bavaria, as well as their Duke, swore to be faithful to the Frankish overlord; but they did not personally become his men. Tassilo was personally the man of his uncle and of his cousins; but between the Bavarian people and the King of the Franks the relation still remained an international one.

By one of the strange gaps which we have long got used to, the narrative which for the other events of these years is the fullest and most trustworthy takes no notice of the homage of Tassilo or of any of the acts of the Mayfield of Compiègne, except a clear mention of the Imperial embassy and a very intelligible allusion to the doings of the Pope who was just dead[2]. He is no less silent as to the two short wars which had now to be waged at two ends of the Frankish kingdom. He is so eager to get to his full and valuable narrative of the great Aquitanian war that he says not a word about the affairs of Saxony and refers only incidentally to those of Septimania[3]. From other sources we learn that the year that followed the Mayfield of Compiègne was marked by a war with the Saxons (758). That was an event which might happen at any time; we do not look for any special cause or any special result. The King entered the Saxon territory at some time after Easter; he advanced as far as a place described as Sitnia, just beyond the Lippe; he took many Saxon strongholds and slew many Saxons in battle. The same kind of thing

[1] They are in Laurissenses 757 "ejus homines majores natu qui erant cum eo," in Einhard "omnes primores et majores natu Baioarii, qui cum eo in præsentiam regis pervenerant."

[2] See above, p. 213.

[3] For these most important incidental references see below, p. 227.

had often happened before; nor was it anything new when the Saxons submitted to the King's will—which has been understood to mean a promise to receive Christian teachers—and bound themselves to a yearly tribute of three hundred horses to be made in the Mayfield [1]. The campaign, whenever it began, was over before the middle of September; for then Pippin was on his way back at Düren, making grants to churches on the Rhine [2].

All Saxon wars waged by Pippin or any earlier Frankish king were simply small foreshadowings of the great and abiding work that was to be done in those regions by Pippin's son. It is in the Southern lands that Pippin does a distinct work of his own. There, in Aquitaine and Spain no less than in Italy, Pippin is far more than the forerunner of his son. Charles carries on and completes the work of his father; but Pippin had everywhere made a substantial beginning, and in Septimania he had made not only a beginning but an ending. It was Pippin who won for the Frank that corner of Gaul which Chlodowig had left in the hands of the Goth, and which had passed from the Goth to the Saracen. No Frankish king before him had ever reigned over Narbonne and Nîmes. And to the west, in the land from which the rule of the Goth had passed away, if Pippin did not bring back Aquitaine to the same measure of submission to which Chlodowig had first brought it, he came so near to doing so that its full conquest was one of the earliest works of his son. In Aquitaine at least Charles did but reap where Pippin had sown; one might almost say that he did but gather in the gleanings that his father had left. It was the Aquitanian side of his reign that most struck his contemporaries; it was handed down as his special work alike by the pen of the chronicler and by

[1] "Polliciti sunt contra Pippinum omnes voluntates ejus faciendum, et honores in placito suo præsentandum usque in equos trecentos per singulos annos."

[2] See Sickel, Regesten, ii. 5; "Duria 15 Sept."

the pencil of the limner. The Italian wars were more striking in the eyes of the world; they are more memorable in the history of the world. But the Aquitanian wars far more nearly touched the immediate interests of the Frankish kingdom. Pippin might have left Italy to itself; we may suspect that in his later days he wished that he had left Italy to itself. He had clearly had quite enough of Italian affairs, and was fully purposed not again to jeopard the life of a single Frank in settling them one way or another. But Aquitaine he could not leave to itself. He must have felt his dominion imperfect, he must have been constantly reminded that, whatever might be his fame in Italy, in Gaul itself, the first Karling was far from having won back the full possessions of the first Merwing. From the Loire to the Pyrenees, a land which had once been under immediate Frankish rule was now practically independent. To Pippin, a more enterprising prince than his father, this state of things must have been a grievance in itself, and, when the relations between two powers are in this case, particular grounds of quarrel are never lacking. For the last nine years of his life therefore, Pippin left Italy to shift for itself, and gave his whole mind to winning back the lost dominion of the Franks in Aquitaine.

On the tale of this long struggle we shall very soon have to enter; but we are as yet parted from it by the last events of the war in Septimania. This, it will be remembered, was not, like the war in Aquitaine, a war to win back a lost part of the Frankish dominions. In the œcumenical point of view, it was a war to win back a lost part of Europe and of Christendom; but in the specially Frankish aspect of things, it was a war to spread the Frankish dominion over a land in which no Frank had hitherto ruled. The connexion between the two wars in Southern Gaul is obvious. The affairs of Septimania could not fail to touch Aquitaine. A Frankish conqueror of Aquitaine could hardly fail to go on to finish the driving out of the Saracen from Septimania; and one who had

added Septimania to the Frankish dominion would be strongly tempted to go on to win back Aquitaine, and he would certainly be felt by the Duke of Aquitaine as a neighbour more dangerous than before. As a matter of fact the Septimanian and Aquitanian wars were closely connected; the Septimanian war was one of the direct causes of the Aquitanian. But here we come to one of the strangest of gaps in some of our chief authorities. Those writers who most fully describe the long war with Waifar have not thought it needful to give a single word of direct narrative to the end of Saracen dominion in Gaul, to the union of Narbonne with the Frankish realm. We left the Frankish armies, for several years carrying on a desultory warfare against the city, without any operations amounting to a regular siege[1]. The state of the Saracen power in Spain during these years must be borne in mind. The land was torn in pieces by civil wars between two rival classes of Mussulmans, the men of pure Arab descent and the mixed multitude of African converts whom they had brought within the fold of Islam in the course of their march from Egypt to Spain. And we now and then come across yet more striking illustrations of the working of the Mussulman alternatives of Koran, tribute, or sword. We see that the native of the conquered land itself, Goth, Iberian, or any other, could, by accepting the first choice of the three, raise himself to the level of the conquerors, but not without stirring up jealousies which sometimes proved dangerous[2]. More than all, a new element of discord had been thrown in, during the course of the Septimanian war, by the revolutions of the East. Nearly at the same time that the Merwings gave way to the Karlings in the rule of Gaul and Germany, the line of the Ommiad Caliphs, the descendants of Moawiyah, gave way on the throne of Damascus to the Abbasid dynasty, the children of the

[1] See above, p. 108.

[2] See the story of Khalid in Dozy.

Prophet's uncle. One member of the fallen house made his way into Spain, and gradually united the Mussulmans of that land under his leadership. The fugitive Abd-al-Rahman founded the line of independent Ommiad Emirs, in after days to be Caliphs, who made Spain a separate and powerful Mahometan state, apart from the centre of Mahometan rule in the East. This event in the end strengthened the Mussulman power in Spain; but for the moment it was only a new element of division. While the Franks were warring against Narbonne, Abd-al-Rahman was making his way to the headship of Spain; but he had not yet won it. This was not a time when the Saracens of Spain could give any effective help to their brethren who still held out at Narbonne. We hear from Arabian sources of one expedition going to their relief, which never reached the threatened city, which never saw a Frankish enemy, but which, before it came near Narbonne, was cut off by the Christians of the border[1]. The Arabic writers further add that Narbonne was lost to Islam because its defence had been entrusted to a Christian garrison[2].

This last account is not exactly the same as that given in our single Frankish narrative; but it comes so near to it that it is easy to see that the two are somewhat different pictures of the same event. In this version the actual garrison of Narbonne is not Christian, but Saracen; but the Christians, the Goths, of the city are so strong that, when encouraged by Frankish helpers, they are able to overcome their Mussulman masters. In the fifth year of the war (757), the Franks seem to have come nearer than before to a direct attack on Narbonne. Hitherto we have heard only of desultory warfare; now we get a more distinct mention of Frankish forces being sent to Narbonne, which may point to something more like a blockade than had hitherto been. In the seventh year (759), at all events, for the first time since the vain attempt at the beginning of the

[1] See Condé, i. p. 165; Fauriel, iii. 245.

[2] Fauriel, iii. 246, 247.

war, Narbonne was actually besieged by a Frankish army [1]. The host could hardly have been commanded by the King in person, as this is specially marked as a year in which he undertook no warlike expedition. The former part of the year at least he spent in the old lands of his house. Christmas he had kept at Lonclau or Glare aux Ardennes; the Easter feast was held further to the north, at Jupil on the Meuse, in the very land of Liège and Heerstall [2] (758–759). It was a year of domestic interest to his house, as at some stage of it a third son was born to the anointed King and Queen. Bertrada's last-born child received his father's name of Pippin; his position in the Frankish realm with regard to his elder brothers might have awakened some questions, had he lived; but Pippin son of Pippin died in his third year, without admission to any of the honours of king or patrician [3].

Meanwhile some nameless commander acting in Pippin's name was doing the work of Christendom between the Rhone and the Pyrenees. The Frankish host drew near to Narbonne, and began their leaguer of the city. Its Gothic

[1] Our evidence is this. In the Annales Guelferbytani and Nazariani we find; "756. Papa Stephanus defunctus. Franci quieverunt, excepto custodes directos ad Arbonam." As Dorn says (16), this ought to be 757, as that was the year of Stephen's death. Then the Moissac Annals have, "Anno 759. Franci Narbonam obsident." Putting these two together, the phrase of the Metz Annals (see p. 108), "per triennium bellum Narbonam obtinuit," may be understood of a more constant warfare, ending in a regular siege, as distinguished from the "irruptiones" and "infestationes" of the years 752–757.

[2] Einhard at least remarks on the year 759; "Hoc anno celebravit rex natales Domini in Lonclau et pascha in Jopila, neque extra regni sui terminos aliquod iter fecit."

[3] Was there anything unusual in the son bearing his father's name? The name of this young Pippin is noticed in a singular way in several annals, Petaviani, Laurissenses, and Nazariani. Their form is, "mutavit nomen suum in filio suo." Laurissenses puts it, "Natus est Pippino regi filius, cui supradictus rex nomen suum imposuit, ut Pippinus voceretur, sicut et pater ejus"; and Einhard, "quem suo nomine Pippinum vocari voluit." In following generations we have Charles son of Charles and Lewis son of Lewis.

inhabitants, seemingly a majority within its walls, at once opened communications with the besiegers. They were ready to put the King of the Franks in possession of the city on one condition only. They must be allowed to keep their own Gothic law[1]. This demand is to be carefully noticed, and it is not without a practical bearing in our own times. The scornful toleration which the Mussulman law allows to the Christian subjects of a Mussulman power left the Christians of Narbonne free to follow what law they would among themselves. But if the Goths of Narbonne were to become subjects of the King of the Franks on the same terms as his other subjects, there was some fear that he might call on them to give up their Gothic law and to adopt Frankish law instead. And a further question is suggested, whether the condition was meant to refer to the city of Narbonne only or to the whole of Septimania. It may be that some change in the direction of Frankish law had already been made in the towns which had submitted to the Frank, or it may be that, while the war still lasted, no definite civil settlement had been made at all. It was therefore perhaps on behalf of the Goths of all Gothia, not of those of the capital only, that the demand for the continuance of the Gothic law was made. In any case it was on those terms only that Narbonne would become a city of the Frankish realm. We may doubt whether the Christians of Narbonne would in the end have chosen Gothic law under a Saracen emir rather than Frankish law under a Christian king; but it was wise to secure both objects by making it a condition of acknowledgement of the deliverer that he should respect the ancient usages of his new subjects. The condition was accepted; whether a direct reference was made to the King we are not told. The Goths were promised that no change should be made in the law of their fathers. They then

[1] Chron. Moissac; "Anno 759. Franci Narbonam obsident, datoque sacramento Gothi qui ibi erant, ut si civitatem partibus traderent Pippini regis Francorum, permitteret eos legem suam habere."

rose, slew the Saracen garrison, and surrendered the city to the Franks[1]. The Frankish conquest of Gothia, the deliverance of its Christian inhabitants, was now complete[2]. Our only question is one of boundary. What became of the district south of Narbonne and north of the Pyrenees, which, under the name of Roussillon and Cerdagne, was in later times so often tossed to and fro between the rulers of France and Spain? Did the towns of Helena and Ruscino, in the language of the time, pass under immediate Frankish rule along with Narbo Martius? In any case they passed under Frankish supremacy; for, if the direct dominion of Pippin stopped either south of Narbonne or at the Pyrenees, his overlordship now or soon after reached to the Ebro. Among the confusions and shiftings of Mussulman Spain, one Saracen leader deemed it to be his interest to seek a Christian lord. Suleiman, the Emir who ruled at Barcelona and Girona, accepted the Frankish superiority over his dominions[3]. Thus came into being that Spanish march of the Frank of which we shall hear much more in the next reign. The series of shiftings to and fro, by which for so many ages Gaulish rulers reigned south of the Pyrenees and Spanish rulers north of them, have now begun.

The close connexion between the Septimanian and the Aquitanian war now shows itself clear. Waifar naturally felt himself threatened by so great an advance of the Frankish power to the south. He was even stirred

[1] Chron. Moissac; "Quo facto ipsi Gothi Sarracenos qui in præsidio illius erant occidunt, ipsamque civitatem partibus Francorum tradunt." The occupation of Narbonne is incidentally referred to by the Continuator in 127.

[2] The chronicler of Metz is emphatic on this head; "Expulsis de tota Gothia hominibus illis, Christianos de servicio Saracenorum liberavit."

[3] Ann. Mett. 752; "Solinoam quoque, dux Sarracenorum, qui Barcinonam Gerundamque civitatem regebat, Pippini se cum omnibus quæ habebat dominationi subdidit." See Fauriel, iii. 247.

up, while the war still lasted, perhaps to actual alliance with the Saracens, at any rate to hostile action against the Gothic allies and subjects of the King of the Franks. We dimly see a plundering expedition of Waifar in the Narbonnese territory[1]; we as dimly see the Aquitanian Duke charged with the death of certain Goths who were under Frankish protection. Here was *casus belli* enough, even if Waifar had been a wholly independent prince, and not a vassal or dependent ally of the Frank, however grudgingly he might admit that relation. Pippin accordingly sent an embassy to the Aquitanian Duke to demand the payment of a *weregeld* for the slain Goths, and to make other complaints besides[2] (760). The King demanded the surrender of certain of his subjects who had sought refuge in Waifar's dominions[3]. What Grifo had done a few years before, others had most likely done since. But there was also a standing grievance of the Frankish kingdom against Waifar. Many churches in the King's dominions had possessions in the Aquitanian duchy. Nothing was more natural, when we remember how long Aquitaine had been under the immediate dominion of the early Frankish kings. These lands of the Frankish churches Waifar had seized to himself, and had sent his own officers to administer them[4]. Setting aside the dependent rela-

[1] Chron. Moiss.; "Waifarius, princeps Aquitaniæ, Narbonam deprædat." This comes among the events of 757, and seems to have suggested the extract from short Aquitanian annals of the year 752–759, which follow incidentally.

[2] Cont. Fred. 124; "Et Gotthos prædicto regi quos dudum Waifarius contra regis ordinem occiderat, ei solvere deberet." This slaughter must surely have happened during the "deprædatio" recorded in the Moissac Annals. See more in Dahn, Urgeschichte, iii. 920.

[3] Ib.; "Et homines suos qui de regno Francorum ad ipsum Waifarium principem confugium fecerant reddere deberet."

[4] Ib.; "Rex Pippinus legationem ad Waifarium Aquitanicum principem mittens, petens ei per legatos suos, ut res ecclesiarum de regno ipsius qui in Aquitania sitæ erant, redderet, et sub immunitatis nomine, sicut antea fuerat, conservatas esse deberent, et judices et

tion in which Aquitaine stood to the King, the case had a good deal in common with the alien priories in England. Waifar as little wished to see payments and services go out of his duchy to enrich the churches of *Francia* as the English kings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries wished to see payments and services go out of England to enrich the churches of Normandy which had become churches of France. Here was a charge against Waifar which could be pressed with the best effect both on political and on religious grounds; the Duke's act savoured alike of treason and of sacrilege; as a permanent wrong, it seems to have struck men's minds more than either the demand for the surrender of the Frankish refugees or the demand for the *weregeld* of the slain Goths. It appears in some accounts as the single ground of grievance against Waifar. But in our fullest narrative all are set down as complaints which the King of the Franks made by the mouth of his envoys, and to which the Aquitanian Duke returned an unsatisfactory, perhaps a scornful, answer. He would do none of the things which the King demanded of him[1]. It would seem that Waifar was not satisfied with giving this answer to the envoys of Pippin; the Frankish king must hear his purpose with his own ears. Two of the greatest men of the duchy, Blandinus Count of Auvergne and Bertellanus Archbishop of Bourges, were sent on this somewhat needless errand to the Frankish court. The King was stirred to wrath by their message;

exactores in supradictas res ecclesiarum quod a longo tempore non fuerat, mittere non deberet." Then follow the other two demands. Ann. Laur. 760 bring in another word which we have heard elsewhere; "Pippinus rex cernens Waipharium ducem Aquitaniorum minime consentire justitias ecclesiarum partibus quæ erant in Francia, consilium fecit cum Francis ut iter ageret supradictas justitias quærendo in Aquitania." Einhard is to the same effect. This leaves out the embassies. The small annals record the expedition, but say nothing as to its cause.

[1] Cont. Fred. 124; "Hæc omnia Waifarius quæ prædictus rex per legatos suos ei mandaverat, hoc totum facere contempsit."

yet we are told that it was only unwillingly, and as one constrained by the necessity of the case, that he took up arms to maintain his rights[1]. Of the campaign that followed we have no direct dates. We know only that in June Pippin was in part of his dominions which saw most of his presence at Attigny and at Verberie[2]. The expedition therefore could not have immediately followed the Mayfield. Most likely the embassy to Waifar was decreed in that assembly, and negotiations were still going on in June. It could not have been very much later in the year that the Frankish army set forth and the long war of Aquitaine began.

A glance at the map is now profitable. The name Aquitaine, especially in its later shape of *Guienne*, is most familiar to us in the wars of quite another age, which for the most part touched a different region from that which was chiefly touched by the Aquitanian wars of Pippin. Poitiers and Bordeaux are perhaps the cities whose names come most readily to our minds when we think of Aquitanian warfare. Pippin was undoubtedly lord of the lands which were to be Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, but those lands were a distant, almost an isolated, part of his dominions. His interests in Western Gaul were slight. He had no seaboard on the main shore of Ocean; Aquitaine and Britanny, if nominal members of the Frankish realm, cut off its master from the mouths of the great rivers whose course is westward. Of these the great boundary stream of Loire turns so far northward in the lower half of its course that the Frankish lands beyond it seem a kind of Frankish outpost all but hemmed

[1] The Continuator, 125, brings this in incidentally in the next year; "Blandinus, comes Arvernicus, qui dudum ante annum superiorem cum Bertellano episcopo Bitoricæ civitatis missus fuerat, et animum regis ad iracundiam nimium provocasset." In the direct narrative; "Pippinus rex invitus coarctatus undique contraxit exercitum."

[2] See Sickel, ii. 5, 6, for Pippin's presence at these places; but the charter at Verberie is granted to Saint-Calais, and charters to Saint-Calais are now called in question.

in between Aquitaine, Britanny, and the English Channel. The home and the main strength of the Frankish kings of this time lay in the lands between Seine and Rhine and specially between Seine and Mosel. Austria, Neustria, Burgundy, the newly won land of Septimania, carried the unbroken Frankish power from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees. And in this last quarter the Aquitanian duchy was even more hemmed in than the Frankish kingdom was to the north-west. It was only for a short space that the Aquitanian duchy marched on the Pyrenæan range. To the east Waifar was cut off from the Mediterranean by Septimania; to the west he was cut off from the Bay of Biscay by the proper Wasconia or Gascony. The Frankish writers so often laxly apply the name *Wascones* to the subjects of Waifar that we are tempted to forget that in the oldest Aquitaine, in the lands between the Pyrenees and the Garonne, a separate duchy kept the south-west corner of Gaul, just as the continental Britain kept the north-west. We must again remember that Aquitaine took in a large part of the land which we are more accustomed to speak of as Languedoc, with the old Gothic capital of Toulouse. The duchy thus had a very long frontier towards the immediate Frankish kingdom, a frontier in which the dominions of King and Duke lay for the more part east and west of each other. It is on this side therefore that the main stress of the war falls. Of the lower course of the Loire we hear little; Orleans is the most western of its cities of which we hear, and that but once. It is not by way of Anjou and Poitou that the forces of Northern and Southern Gaul come against one another. Once only in the earlier stages of the war does a Frankish host press as far westward as Thouars, and that is one which crossed the Loire as far eastward as Nevers. The holy place of Saint Martin of Tours is once attacked; but it is both attacked and defended by local forces. As a rule, the Frankish host enters the southern land by the way of Berry and Au-

vergne, while, the one time that we hear of real invasion the other way, the Aquitanian host makes its way to the Burgundian Cabillo. The most usual meeting-place for the Frankish armies is at Troyes, a natural road from Austria and eastern Neustria to the great Aquitanian stronghold of Bourges. Bourges and Auvergne—we now begin to hear of Clermont—are the great places of warfare, till the submission of all Aquitaine has become a question of time. Then we first begin to hear of the cities of the south-west, and the Frankish head-quarters are planted so near the Ocean as Saintes.

The first campaign of Pippin against Waifar was short and, for its immediate object, successful (760). The Frankish host was gathered from all parts to the trysting-place at Troyes. They marched by Auxerre, Auxerre with its minsters crowning the hills above the Yonne, the most famous of them, that of the local Saint German, an object of Pippin's bounty. The stream that flows below Auxerre, sending its waters to mingle with those of the Seine, was a stream of their own Frankish land; but they were already in a border district; the land of Auxerre reached to and even crossed the Loire, and it was at a point within that land, at Masonas, that the great frontier river was passed. But in this first campaign nothing was done beyond plunder and havoc. The lands of Bourges and Auvergne were laid waste, and we are vaguely told that a large part of Aquitaine was dealt with in the same sort. But it is hard to believe, on the strength of a single doubtful name, that an army whose chief field of work lay so far to the east made its way to a point in the Poitevin land not far from Saumur[1]. But whatever was

[1] It is from the Continuator that we get the geography. The Annales Laur. and Einhard say only that Pippin got as far as "Tedoad," which is explained to mean Doué near Saumur. Oelsner (p. 343) truly remarks that this does not the least fit in with the march as described by the Continuator, though he does say "maximam partem Aquitaniæ concremavit." The place is quite unknown.

the geography of its last stages, this campaign of harrying frightened the Aquitanian Duke into a momentary submission. From some point or other Waifar sent envoys to the King, making oaths, sending hostages, promising to carry out all the King's wishes, and that seemingly in a solemn meeting, perhaps in the next Mayfield itself[1]. Aquitaine was not conquered; but its dependence seemed to be secured. Pippin at once granted peace and marched back into his dominions, to keep both Christmas and the Easter of the next year in his now famous house of Quierzy[2].

We lack an Aquitanian narrative of these times. The peace between Pippin and Waifar was one which, in the phrase of our own Chroniclers, stood no while; and, if the Frankish writers are to be believed, the blame of the breach of the treaty lay wholly with the Duke. Pippin, it would seem, looked forward to a year of quiet. He held his Mayfield far to the north, at Düren; there he had gathered the chief men of his kingdom to do, in what seems to be the formal phrase of the summons, whatever was needed for the welfare of their country and for the advantage of the Franks[3]. At that meeting, it would seem, Waifar ought to have been present; but, instead of coming to Düren, he chose that very moment as a favourable one for the invasion of the Frankish territory. While the assembly was at work at Düren, news was brought that Waifar had broken the peace, that he had

[1] So I understand the words of the Continuator; "Waifarius princeps Aquitaniæ per legatos suos pacem supplicans, sacramenta vel obsides ibidem donat, ut omnes justitias quas præfatus rex Pippinus per legatos suos ei mandaverat, *in placito instituto* facere deberet." See the next year.

[2] Ann. Laur. 760 gives the name of the hostages, Adelgarius—our English Æthelgar—and Itherius. The envoys were Otbert, whose name takes several forms, and Dadius.

[3] Cont. Fred.; "Omnes optimates Francorum ad Dura in pago Riquerum [Ripuararsi] ad Campo Medio, *pro salute patriæ et utilitate Francorum tractanda*, placito instituto ad se venire præcepit."

sent forth an army under Humbert Count of Bourges and Blandinus Count of Auvergne—the latter one of the Aquitanian envoys of last year,—that they had entered the land of Autun, the land of the Æduans, that they had marched as far as Cabillo or Challon on the Saone, that they had burned, laid waste, and plundered, the whole land, especially the suburbs of Challon and the royal house of Mailly. The chiefs and warriors of the land were doubtless at the Mayfield; so the invaders had done as they thought good, and had gone back to their master laden with rich booty [1]. The subject of the consultations with his people naturally took a new turn. The first thing to be done was to avenge the insult and damage done by Waifar. The whole force of the kingdom was bidden to meet (761) with all speed at the last year's meeting-place at Troyes. Thither the Franks met, this time with two kings at their head; for Chroniclers who wrote later took care to record that Charles, eldest son of Pippin, came with his father [2]. It is not distinctly said that this was the great conqueror's first sight of war; but the words would most naturally bear that meaning; and, if so, we may be more inclined to accept the later date of his birth, which would make him now fourteen

[1] The geography is most minute in the Continuator; "Usque Cavillonum omnem exercitum suum transmisit, et totam regionem illam, id est Augustidunensium usque ad Cavillonum igne cremavit, et suburbana Cavilloni urbis, quidquid ibidem reperierunt, omnia vastaverunt; Melciacum villam publicam incendio cremaverunt." The form "Cavillonem" or "Cavalonum" [Ann. Laur.] is improved by Einhard into the more elegant "Cabillo."

[2] The presence of Charles comes first in the Annales S. Amandi and Petaviani 761; "Iterum Pipinus fuit in Wasconia una cum Karolo." In Ann. Laur. 761 it stands; "ejus filius primo genitus Karlus cum eo." Einhard naturally expands; "In hac expeditione fuit cum rege filius ejus primogenitus Karlus, ad quem post patris obitum *totius imperii summa* conversa est." Could this entry have been written before 800? It sounds as if "imperium" was used, not quite strictly nor yet quite laxly. Can we say that Pippin's dominion is called "imperium" because his son became "imperator"?

years of age rather than nineteen[1]. Karlmann, at the age of ten, was left behind, with the short-lived babe Pippin. The march kept to the north of the lands which had just been harried by the enemy. From Troyes the kings and their army passed through the land of Auxerre, and crossed the Loire at a point to the north of their former point of passage, by Nevers, then a frontier city of the Frank[2]. Even so far from its mouth, the waters of the revolutionary stream seem wide to the eyes of islanders as they rush below the hill crowned by the church of the child-martyr Cyricius and his mother. Once on Aquitanian ground, the host began its work of havoc and of something more than havoc. Pippin had by this time learned that he could not safely leave the Aquitanian Duke in possession of so great a dominion as a dependent prince. Aquitaine must be conquered or at least dismembered; the Frankish territory must be enlarged at its expense; it was not enough simply to plunder and go home with spoils; towns and castles must be taken and kept. With this campaign the gradual conquest of Aquitaine begins, and goes on steadily year by year, broken only by one great interruption through events in quite another region.

The work began in Berry, but to the south of the capital; the hill of Avaricum remained untouched for another year. Pippin's first conquest has a strangely modern sound. The fortress of Bourbo or Bourbon, Bourbon l'Archambaut on a small tributary of the Allier, finds no place in the pages of Gregory of Tours, nor does it seem to be mentioned in any of the documents of earlier Frankish times. This seems to be the first appearance in history of a name which has become so famous as the name of a family that we almost forget that it is the name, much less famous in that character, of an actual spot of the

[1] See above, p. 149.

[2] It is again from the Continuator that we get the exact geography and the mention of Nevers.

earth's surface. In Pippin's day Bourbon was already an important stronghold which needed a siege. The King surrounded it; perhaps hemmed it in with wooden towers; but a sudden attack gave him possession of it. The castle was taken and burned, the Aquitanian garrison were led away as prisoners[1]. Whether Bourbon was, strictly speaking, occupied; whether any Franks were left to keep it against its old masters, is not clear; but we see that, from this point, Pippin does not simply harry the country; he aims at the strong places, and either occupies or destroys them, so that they shall not be turned against him in another campaign.

From Bourbon the King marched southward, taking, as we are told by a somewhat later writer, many strong places by force, and some by the willing surrender of their inhabitants. Among these Chantelle-le-Chastel is specially mentioned[2]. Here he was, in the geography of those days, within the land of Auvergne, though not as yet among its once fiery hills. But his line of march led him straight to the renowned city of Sidonius and Gregory. Its name was now in the very act of changing. We hear both of the *civitas Arverna* and of the *Clarus Mons*. *Clermont*, to give the name its later shape, is the akropolis of *Auvergne*, if we may speak of the city by a form of the name which was assuredly never heard within its walls[3]. The story is

[1] Cont. Fred.; "Ad castrum cujus nomen est Barbone in pagum Bitorinum pervenit. Cumque in gyro castra posuisset, subito a Francis captus atque succensus est, et homines Waifarii quos ibidem invenit, secum duxit."

[2] Chantelle, Cantela, Cantilea, comes from the Annales Laurissenses.

[3] That is to say, in most places the city and county came in the end to be known by different forms of the tribal names, as Bourges and Berry, Périgueux and Périgord, and plenty of others. But the "civitas Arvernorum" changed its name to Clarus Mons or Clermont so soon that no separate form grew up for the town. This makes it hard to speak of the place in early time. We cannot speak of Clermont, and it sounds odd to say that a thing happened "at Auvergne."

much as if the name of *Rougemont* had displaced the name of Exeter; only the Red Mount, in its corner of Exeter, could hardly have come to be looked on as the city itself, as the Bright Mount, the very centre of the *civitas Arvernorum*, crowned by the great church as well as by the castle, could and has been. Pippin came then to the city of Auvergne with all his host; his main fighting was done against the hill and citadel of Clermont. The fortified circuit of the Arvernian city has advanced and fallen back more than once during its long history [1]. The impression which the story gives is that, at this time, after the Saracen inroads, the lower parts of the town, spreading some way over the present suburbs and neighbouring villages, were fortified but feebly or not at all; they may even have lain open and forsaken. The military strength of the place clearly lay wholly in the inner circuit, that of the *Clarus Mons*. This was taken by storm and burned; a crowd of people, men, women, and children, perished in the flames. But one version asserts distinctly, another perhaps implies less distinctly, that this frightful slaughter was, like the burning of Dover at the coming of the Conqueror, no designed act of the King himself, but a result of accident or lack of discipline [2]. Besides these harmless victims,

[1] On the walls of Clermont see Tardieu, Histoire de la Ville de Clermont-Ferrand, i. 661. The distinctive name *Clermont-Ferrand*, now in modern use, comes from the union of the little town of Montferrand, famous for its ancient houses, with the city of Clermont.

[2] The burning of Clermont—it would make a needful distinction at this date if one said "*the* Clermont"—is recorded in some of the lesser annals, as S. Amandi and Petaviani—the form in "Claremonte," "Claromonte." Ann. Laur. does not mention the burning. The Metz annalist absolves the King in so many words, 761; "Usque ad Clarummontem castrum pervenit, quod *non sua voluntate* sed bellatorum vi injecto concrematum est igne." One is tempted to take this for the mere excuse of a later writer; but when we turn back to the standard narrative in the Continuator, 125, we may perhaps see the same distinction; "Usque urbem Arvernam cum omni exercitu veniens, Claremontem castrum captum atque succensum bellando *cepit*, et multitudinem hominum, tam virorum quam feminarum vel infantum

many of the defenders of the Bright Mount were slain or taken prisoners. Our Frankish guide calls them Basques or Gascons; but he uses the word laxly, applying it sometimes to those to whom it strictly belonged, sometimes to the people of Southern Gaul generally [1]. It seems hardly needful to conceive that the Mount was garrisoned by a special band of allies or mercenaries from beyond the Garonne [2]. At their head at all events was the local Count Blandinus, he who, as Waifar's envoy, had stirred up the wrath of Pippin [3]. He was among the prisoners, and was led bound into the presence of the King. We hear nothing of his treatment; we hear of him a little later as escaping from his unwilling sojourn among the Franks and making his way back to the protection of his own prince [4]. From Auvergne Pippin struck westward, harrying as he went, as far as Limoges [5]. But the city itself was not destroyed or taken, most likely not attacked. The King with his army, having done much and suffered little, went back into his own land to keep Christmas and Easter at Quierzy [6].

It is not distinctly said that Pippin left any garrison in Auvergne or that he annexed the city to his dominions [7].

plurimos in ipso incendio cremaverunt. Blandinum comitem ipsius urbis Arvernicæ captum atque ligatum ad præsentiam regis adduxerunt." (The Continuator had not the same scruple as the Bishop, of whom Gregory of Tours tells, on the question; "an mulieres sint homines.") On the burning of Dover, see N. C. iii. 536.

[1] "Multi Wascones" are the words of the Continuator; are these different from the "homines Waifarii" whom we saw at Bourbon? We shall come across this question again in the next campaign.

[2] See Fauriel, iii. 259 et seqq.

[3] See above, p. 231. But one hardly sees why the Metz annalist should call him "perfidus."

[4] See Cont. Fred. 130, where in the campaign of 765, or rather 763, we read of "Blandinus comes Arvernorum quem prædictus rex prius ceperat et qui postea ad Waifarium confugium fecerat."

[5] The Continuator does not mention Limoges; he says merely, "regione illa tota vastata," but Limoges comes not only in Ann. Laur., but in several of the smaller annals.

[6] Ann. Laur., as usual.

[7] But it should be noticed that the Annales Guelferbytani say

But from several things that follow we are tempted to believe that he did. His policy seems to have been to risk nothing in great battles or distant enterprises, but gradually to break down the power of Waifar by a succession of inroads, in each of which he should bring some stronghold under his own power, and spread his mere harryings further and further each year. He clearly acted on this principle during the next year's campaign (762). Waifar's action at this time is not very clear; we hear nothing of him personally; one Frankish writer charges him with neglect of his own dominions during the harrying of the last year. He now certainly sent a force for the defence of his greatest border city, an attack on which he may have foreseen [1]. Pippin meanwhile, most likely straight from the Mayfield, crossed the border, taking with him this time the young Karlmann as well as his elder brother Charles [2]. The three kings and patricians marched straight to the attack of the great northern bulwark of Aquitaine, the head of the whole duchy [3], the city of the Bituriges on the hill of Avaricum by the Cher. That hill seems but a small matter to one who draws near to Bourges from the loftier heights of the south; but it is somewhat of a climb from the lowest ground of the city to the summit crowned by the church and palace not yet the seat either of kings or of patriarchs. The city is marked as one of great strength, and we can still look on no small part of the defences against which the King of the Franks now brought all his strength and skill in warfare. The walls of Avaricum still live to bear up the noblest palace ever reared north of the Alps by any private citizens; the solid

"Franci in Wasconia Clarmonte conquisierunt," exactly the same formula which they apply to Bourges the next year.

[1] See below, p. 242.

[2] Ann. Petaviani, 762; "Iterum domnus Pipinus cum dilectis filiis suis Karolo et Karolomanno perrexit in Wasconiam et adquisivit civitatem Bituricas."

[3] Bourges is "caput Aquitaniæ," just before in Cont. Fred. 129.

bastions of Imperial days bear up the round towers of the house of Jacques Cœur, merchant, minister, and exile, as in the loftier part of the city another has been pressed to bear up the apse of the chapel of the patriarchal palace. Pippin saw that at Bourges he had hard work before him, and he girded himself for the work accordingly. He laid waste the land all round, he pitched his camp on every side; he hemmed in the city with a wall, seemingly an earthwork of unusual strength. No man could go in or out of Bourges; yet Pippin did not trust wholly to the slow work of blockade. He brought his military engines to play on the ancient rampart, and it was at last by a breach in the wall of Avaricum that the Frankish king entered the besieged city [1]. Many men had been wounded and slain in the chances of the siege; but Pippin, warned doubtless by the unlucky accident at Clermont, took care that no needless slaughter should mar his entry into a great city which he meant to keep as his own. The King was always disposed to clemency, and this time his clemency went even further than usual. But it is not quite easy to distinguish between two classes of men who met with two kinds of treatment at his hands. The garrison whom Waifar had sent to defend the city the King allowed to go unhurt to their own homes. But the local Count Humbert, of whom we have already heard, and certain persons described specially as Gascons, he took away with him under oaths—oaths perhaps on both sides—and gave orders for their wives and children to go into the Frankish territory [2]. It is not very clear who these two classes of

[1] The siege comes out well in the Continuator; "Castra metatus est undique et omnia quæ in gyro fuerunt vastavit. Circumsepsit urbem *munitione* fortissimam [*al.* fortissima] ita ut nullus egredi ausus fuisset aut ingredi potuisset. Cum machinis et omni genere armorum circumdeditorum *vallo*, multis vulneratis plurimisque interfectis, fractisque muris cepit urbem." The *vallum* seems to explain the "munitio" just before.

[2] Cont. 126; "Homines illos quos Waifarius ad defendendam ipsam civitatem dimiserat, clementia suæ pietatis absolvit, dimissique reversi sunt ad propria. Unibertus [Umbertus *al.*] comites et reliquos Wascones

men were or why there was this difference in their treatment. The mere soldiers, whether mercenaries or natural subjects of Waifar, get their freedom, perhaps that they might go and tell all the world, and specially the people of Aquitaine, how mild a conqueror the King of the Franks was likely to be. If the other class consisted of the chief men of the Bituriges, city and land, then their treatment is no less intelligible. They were to be moved where they would no longer be dangerous, but they were to undergo no hardship beyond this unwilling migration. Only why should the elders of Bourges and Berry be spoken of in a marked way as Gascons? What is quite certain is that Pippin kept Bourges for himself, as a city of the Frankish realm. Whatever damage his engines had done to the Roman walls he caused to be repaired, and he placed a Frankish garrison under Frankish commanders to keep his new conquest for him [1].

This year's warfare was wholly on the northern border of Aquitaine; Pippin nowhere pushed so far into the heart of the country as he had done in the year before. But he went further west than he had hitherto done. He marched as far as Thouars in Poitou; he is said to have taken the fortress with wonderful speed, and to have burned it [2].

quos ibidem invenit sacramentis datis secum adduxit, uxores eorum et liberos in Franciam ambulare præcepit." There would be nothing wonderful in calling all Waifar's subjects laxly "Wascones." "Wasconia" in the shorter annals takes in all Aquitaine; Limoges, Clermont, Bourges, are all in this Gascony. But here the "Wascones" and the "homines Waifarii," both at Bourges, are distinguished, just as before "the homines Waifarii" at Bourbon seem to be distinguished from the "Wascones" at Clermont. A little further on (Cont. Fred. 130) we shall find more distinctly geographical "Wascones." Oelsner's (p. 351) words, "der Graf von Bourges, Unibert, sowie die übrigen Grossen der Stadt," make just the meaning one wants, but it is hard to get it out of the words "reliqui Wascones."

[1] "Muros ipsius Bituricæ civitatis restaurare jubet, comites suos in ipsam civitatem ad custodiendum misit." Are these "comites" "Counts," or only *gesiðas*?

[2] Cont. 126; "Cum in gyro castra posuisset, ipsum castrum mira celeritate captum atque succensum est."

We are therefore in the same difficulty in which the mere words of the story leave us as to Clermont, whether he simply destroyed the fortress or kept it to himself. Thouars is spoken of as a very strong post, and it is so near to the Frankish border that one would have expected the King, when he once had it in his power, to keep it. But it was not a great city like Bourges. Whatever he did with the place, we know what he did with its defenders or some of them. We are again puzzled at the seemingly marked mention of Gascons. Such Gascons as Pippin found at Thouars, with the Count in command at their head, he took away with him into *Francia*[1]. Of others, answering to those who were let go at Bourges, we hear nothing. It may be that, while Waifar sent a special garrison to Bourges, the defence of Thouars was left to local resources. Only one does not see why a local Count in Poitou and a local force under his command should be spoken of as Gascons.

The King went back with much spoil to keep Christmas and Easter at Gentilly near Paris[2]. The effect of these two campaigns on the mind of Waifar is now strongly marked. It would seem to have been now that he took a step which is directly mentioned only a little later. Seeing his chief fortresses fall into the hands of the King, the castle of Clermont and the strong city of Bourges, the head of all Aquitaine[3], he determined, in the language of the seventeenth century, to slight all his strong places.

[1] "Wascones quos ibidem invenit una cum ipso comite duxit in Franciam."

[2] Ann. Laur., as usual.

[3] Cont. Fred. 129; "Videns . . . Waifarius . . . quod castrum Claremontis rex bellando ceperat et Bituricas, caput Aquitaniæ, munitissimam urbem, cum machinis cepisset, et impetum ejus ferre non potuisset." This must (see Richter, pp. 19, 20) be out of place. The Continuator is the best narrator of all that he does narrate, but some of the events have clearly got under wrong years. This must belong to 762, not to 764. The distinction between Claremont taken by storm and Bourges taken by a breach made by engines is clearly drawn.

Pippin might harry open towns, but he would be less tempted to annex them to his dominions and to occupy them as military posts from whence to carry on the war against Waifar. With this view he broke down the walls of Poitiers, Limoges, Saintes, Périgueux, and Angoulême, and it is added all his other cities and castles. We are told that he levelled the whole of their walls with the ground [1]; but this is a mere figure of speech, as is shown by the fact that in some of these towns large parts of the Roman walls still abide. It would have been cruel indeed if he had swept away the whole of the wall of the third Vesona, and left no Roman substructures for the works of Château Barrière in the eleventh century and in the fifteenth. But no such utter sweeping away was needed for Waifar's ends. It was enough for him, as for Swegen at Exeter [2], to break down as much as would leave each place defenceless. This he seemingly did; but we shall see that, a little time after, repair only and not complete rebuilding was needed.

The effect of this step was seen in the next campaign. There is more harrying than ever, but we hear of no taking of strong places, towns, or castles. Pippin diligently carries out his systematic plan, drawing nearer and nearer, spreading his ravages further and further (763). He comes by the old path of Troyes and Auxerre, but he must have started earlier than in other years. The Mayfield is held in a new place. Not any spot further north, but Nevers on the Loire, before chosen as the crossing-place of armies, is now chosen as the meeting-place both of armies and of councils [3].

[1] Cont. Fred. 129; "Omnes civitates quæ in Aquitania provincia suæ ditionis erant, id est Pictavis, Limodicas, Petrecors, Equolisma, et reliquas quamplures civitates et castella, omnes muros eorum in terram prostravit." The form "Petrecors" seems to be the beginning of "*Périgord*," though that is now the name of the county, not of the city.

[2] See N. C. i. 318.

[3] Ann. Laur. 763; "Pippinus rex habuit placitum suum in Nivernis." Cont. Fred. 130 (A. D. 765); "Commoto omni exercitu Francorum, per Trevas, inde Autisiodarum, usque ad Nievernum urbem cum omni

The assembly of the Frankish nation was gathered on the banks of the border stream, from which the host could at once set forth to do the work that was decreed. That work was for this year little more than a work of pitiless havoc. The land was harried more thoroughly than ever; the ducal dwellings were specially picked out for burning[1]; but the ravage was general; even churches and monasteries were not spared[2]. The march of havoc was carried further south than in any earlier campaign. It reached to Cahors on its peninsula on the Lot[3]. The noblest of fortified bridges which spans the stream on one side; the minster with its solemn cupolas which looks down on it on the other, must have had other, most likely lowlier, predecessors; but that the isthmus is now fenced in with a wall of far later date, though doubtless following the Roman lines, may perhaps be a result of the slighting which the defences of Cahors, like those of other cities, had doubtless gone through at the hands of Waifar[4]. The host then marched northwards towards Limoges, and the ravages

exercitu veniens ibique cum Francis et proceribus suis placitum suum Campo Medio ferens." I take, with Richter, these two to be the same Mayfield, only with a wrong date in the Continuator. (Oelsner (379) does not seem clear on the point.) The campaigns that follow seem the same; both accounts take the army to Limoges; only Ann. Laur. bring out that Limoges was reached only on the journey back, after a march as far as Cahors.

[1] Cont. Fred. 130; "Totam regionem illam vastans, villas publicas, quæ ditionis Waifarii erant, totas igne concremare præcepit."

[2] Ib.; "Monasteriis multis depopulatis."

[3] Ann. Laur.; "Rex Pippinus, iter peragendo per Aquitaniam, usque ad Cadurciam pervenit Aquitaniam vastando." I do not see the difficulty which Dahn (Urgeschichte, iii. 933, 934) seems to make about taking the army to Cahors. It in no way contradicts the words of the Continuator, "Aquitaniam pergens, usque ad Lemodicas accessit." Limoges was the halting-place, in a sense the furthest point of the expedition, though Cahors is geographically more distant, so that Limoges could be said to be on the march back. Ann. Laur. 763; "Revertendo per Lemovicas in Franciam reversus est."

[4] Cahors is not distinctly mentioned; but it comes under the head of "reliquæ civitates."

wrought in the wine country of the Limousin, with Issandun as the headquarters of the destroyers, is specially dwelled on [1]. Pippin, merciful to men's lives, was not merciful towards the means of supporting life. From Nevers round to Cahors, from Cahors again to Limoges, the fruits of the earth had been cut off or rooted up and the works of man given to the flames.

During this season of frightful havoc, the Aquitanian duke seems not only, according to his wont, to have kept himself back from personal action, but not to have ventured, as in former years, on any form of defence or resistance. But there is every reason to think that he was by no means idle in the region of secret negotiation. At some stage of this campaign, most likely towards its end, the Frankish power received a heavy blow and deep discouragement, though not from the arms of the prince against whom the Frankish king was warring. There was one in the Frankish host, bound to the King by the most endearing tie of kindred and by the most solemn oaths of fidelity, by whom the tie of homage, enforced in so new and marked a fashion, was certainly felt as a galling burthen. The King's sister's son, Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, was present in the army with the forces of his duchy; at some point on the march he deserted, taking with him the Bavarian troops. He swore he would never see his uncle again. According to one account, Tassilo pretended sickness as his excuse for leaving the host [2]. The Frankish writers are loud

[1] The details of the harrying come from Cont. Fred. 130 (A.D. 765), whose description is life-like enough; "Tota regione illa pene vastata, *monasteriis multis depopulatis*, usque Misendonum veniens, unde maximam partem Aquitaniæ, ubi plurimum vinearum erat, cepit et vastavit. Unde pene omnis Aquitania, tam ecclesiæ quam monasteria, divites et pauperes, vina habere consueverant, omnia vastavit et cepit." This reads like two accounts of the same thing clumsily put together.

[2] Tassilo's secession is not mentioned by the Continuator. Ann. Laur. and Einhard do not fix the exact stage of the campaign at

against his faithlessness and ingratitude; from a patriotic Bavarian point of view it might be hard to justify the form taken by Tassilo's revolt, but it would be easy to understand it. We know not whether anything personally offensive had passed between uncle and nephew, but the homage was enough; Tassilo and his people had not forgiven the Frankish king for exacting a submission which undoubtedly placed Bavaria and her prince in a lower position than they had hitherto held. The moment chosen for Tassilo's secession is easy to understand. The brother of Waifar and the father of Tassilo had been allies against Pippin[1]; nothing was more natural than that Waifar should suggest to Tassilo that, even if he did not formally renew the alliance, he should at least forbear doing anything against a prince and people who had done him no wrong and whose interests were in truth the same as his own. Beyond his unwilling allegiance to the King of the Franks, the Bavarian duke had no kind of temptation to war against his fellow of Aquitaine. It was a far more obvious policy for both princes to unite to weaken the power of an overlord whose superiority was irksome to both. We can hardly doubt that it was in concert with Waifar that Tassilo and his Bavarians left the Frankish host at some stage of its southern march, most likely during the harrying of the Limousin, and went back to their own land[2].

The desertion of Tassilo gave Waifar new hopes, and

which it happened. The former annals are emphatic on his ingratitude; "Postposuit sacramenta et omnia quæ promiserat, et per malum ingenium se inde seduxit, omnia benefacta quæ Pippinus rex avunculus ejus ei fecit, postposuit, per ingenia fraudulenta se subtrahendo Baioariam petiit, et usquam amplius supradicti regis faciem videre noluit." Einhard is still stronger; "ad regis conspectum ulterius se venturum adjuravit." I have assumed, as everybody else seems to assume, that he took the forces of his duchy with him; yet, if Einhard be right when he says, "ægritudine per dolum simulata," it may be otherwise.

[1] See above, p. 66.

[2] This is the almost certain conjecture of Fauriel (iii. 267).

stirred him up, for the first time, as far as we can see, to personal action. We now come to the first battle, as distinguished from sieges and harryings, of this long Aquitanian war. While Pippin was still in the Limousin, Waifar came against him with a great host, chiefly levied among the Gascons strictly so called, the men who dwelled south-west of the Garonne[1]. A battle followed; its exact site is not told us. An Aquitanian writer of a later age has preserved a tradition of a personal exploit of the Frankish king. Pippin the Pious—his more familiar epithet of the Short is here thrown back on his grandfather[2]—carries off, seemingly with his own hand, the golden banner of the Aquitanian duke[3]. He may have slain the Duke's standard-bearer; he assuredly did not slay the Duke himself. A more authentic account tells us how Count Blandinus of Auvergne, who had been so lucky as to escape from his bonds, died fighting, but that the mass of the Gascons, with Waifar at their head, took to flight. The Franks followed till nightfall; only a few of the defeated host escaped with their Duke[4]. The King, in the more romantic account, is conceived as taking possession of Limoges, or at least of its suburbs, and as dedicating the

[1] The Continuator here gets unusually precise; "Waifarius cum exercitu magno et plurimorum Wasconorum qui ultra Garomnam commorantur, qui antiquitus vocati sunt Vaceti, super prædictum regem venit." His *Vaceti* must be *Vasates*. See Dict. Geog. in VASATES. I do not see how Dahn (iii. 933) can bring in the Vaccai, far away in Spain.

[2] Ademar of Chabannes (i. 48; Pertz, iv. 114) records under 714 the death of "Pipinus Brevis, pater Drogonis et Grimaldi et Caroli Martelli." He is also "Pipinus Vetulus."

[3] "Pipinus Pius" is chosen king; i. 56. Ademar largely copies the Ann. Laur., but, in recording this campaign, adds, "revertendo per Lemovices contulit Sancto Marciali bannum aureum quod ceperat in prœlio Waifarii."

[4] "Sed statim solito more omnes Wascones terga verterunt," says the Continuator. Gregory of Tours had a way of saying the same of the Goths. He mentions the flight of Waifar and the death of Blandinus.

banner that he had won, in the minster of the local Saint Martial beyond the walls of the Limousin city[1]. The King did not follow his advantage, but marched homewards, crossing the Loire at Digoine in the county of Auxerre[2]. The desertion of Tassilo had drawn his thoughts to the German side of his dominions[3]. The next winter (763-764) was one of fearful cold, which might well have driven any man to seek for relief in warmer lands, only the south was as badly off as the north. Thrace was as cruelly frozen up as Gaul; the fruits of the earth were killed in the seed; men died of hunger; the sea—seemingly the Euxine—itself was frozen[4]. And not only at the usual time, but in the March of the new year, the stars fell from heaven so thick and fast that men said that the end of the world was come[5]. King Pippin meanwhile kept his Christmas and

[1] Ademar goes on to speak of the gifts of lands which Pippin gave to the canons of Saint Martial and also to the canons of Saint Stephen, the cathedral church. He says they were given "simul"; but this could hardly be in the case of Saint Stephen's, as Pippin was not yet in possession of the city of Limoges. Nowhere is the distinction of *cité* and *ville* better marked than here; only there the *cité* is by the river, while the *ville* climbs up the hill. The massacre wrought by our Prince Edward was confined to the *cité*; the *ville* was on his side.

[2] "Ad Denegontium cum magno exercitu [integro exercitu, *Einh.*] ad Ligeram veniens, inde per pagum Augustudinensem ad propriam sedem remeavit invictus."

[3] Ann. Laur. et Einh. 763.

[4] The great cold of this winter is mentioned in several annals, besides the "hiemps valida" of Ann. Laur. and the expansion of the words in Einhard. See most of the small annals in Pertz, i. 10, 28, 29, for "gelus pessimus," "zelum magnum," "hiems grandis et dura." The most remarkable entry is in Moissac (Pertz, i. 294) under 762; "Gelu magnum Gallias, Illyricum, et Thraciam deprimit et multæ arbores olivarum et ficulnearum decoctæ gelu aruerunt; sed et germen messium aruit, et supervenienti anno prædictas regiones gravius depressit fames ita ut multi homines penuria panis perirent." Oelsner has an "Excurs" (p. 518) on the Annals Xantenses, in which he compares this account with that of Theophanês, i. pp. 669-70, from whom comes the freezing of the sea; *ὥστε τὴν ἀρκτῴαν τοῦ πόντου παραλίαν ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν μίλια τὸ πέλαγος ἀπολιθωθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ κρύους.*

[5] This phænomenon comes both from Theophanês and from Ann.

Easter, not at Quierzy or Gentilly, but further to the north, nearer to the Rhenish border, at Longlare in Ardennes[1].

The choice of a place for the next Mayfield (May, 754) marks still more clearly that Aquitaine was no longer the first object in Pippin's thoughts. This year (764) the Franks came together by the Rhine itself, at Worms. The King, we are told, was drawn opposite ways by two wars, Bavarian and Aquitanian[2]. But he himself at least warred against neither enemy either this year or the next (764–765). Against Tassilo indeed he never took up arms at all; the Bavarian duke remained practically independent during the remainder of his uncle's reign and for several years after. He bore himself as a king in all things save the actual taking of the kingly title; he settled the affairs of the Bavarian Church; he carried the Bavarian arms to victory against his Slavonic neighbours the Carantanians (772), who have given their name to the duchy of Carinthia or Kärnthen[3]. At the Mayfield of Worms and long after Pippin was largely occupied by the affairs of both Aquitaine and Bavaria. And well he might be, if Waifar and Tassilo were striving to set the Pope against him. The letters of Pope Paul at this time to Pippin and

Xant.; "Stellæ subito visæ de cœlo cecidisse, ita omnes exterruerunt ut putarent finem mundi imminere." This might have been at the usual Brice-tide; only Theophanês gives the date μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ.

[1] Ann. Laur., as usual.

[2] Einh. 764; "Rex Pippinus, distracto animo propter duo bella, Aquitanicum jam olim susceptum et Baioaricum propter Tassilonis ducis defectionem suscipiendum, populi sui generalem conventum habuit in Wormacia civitate." Ann. Laur. say only, "Pippinus rex habuit placitum suum ad Wormatiam et nullum iter aliud fecit, nisi in Francia resedit, causam pertractabat inter Waifarium et Tassilonem.' Perhaps this only means that he had to think about both of them, but it almost sounds as if something of which he knew was going on between them. Of the diplomatic dealings with Waifar which are doubtless referred to we shall hear presently, and there must have been some dealings with Tassilo.

[3] The Carinthian victory was in 772 (Ann. Ratisp., Pertz, i. 94). On the position of Tassilo in his own duchy, see Waitz, iii. 106; Dahn, iii. 935.

his sons speak of an embassy sent by the Kings in the persons of two abbots, our old friend Droctegang of Jumièges and Wulfhard of Saint Martin at Tours[1]. The letters profess a remarkable anxiety after Pippin's welfare, an eagerness to know how he is faring, especially on his warlike expeditions[2]. When a letter from the King at last comes, it appears that his envoys have reported that rumours were being spread at Rome to the King's discredit, hinting, not only, what perhaps was not already untrue, that the King was not likely to come to the help of the Pope in any matter, but that he had lost the power of doing so, if he had the will[3]. The Pope of course believes no such slanders. The King had further warned the Pope generally not to listen to any of his enemies or gainsayers[4]. The

[1] Mon. Car., Jaffé, Ep. 26. iv. 103 (763). We meet Droctegang again in p. 106.

[2] Ib., Ep. 27, p. 105; "Dum hujus evoluto temporis spatio, quod nos nec vestræ sospitatis relationem meruimus suscipere; nec penitus agnoscere quid erga vos ageretur vel qualiter in itinere quo profecti estis peregistis, nimis anxietatis fervore desiderii nostri affectio in hoc ipsud addiscendum sedule provocatur, præsertim et *a nostris vestrisque inimicis adversa nobis de ipsis partibus adnuntiantur.* Unde desiderium magnum nobis inheret, vestræ sospitatis gaudia addiscere et vestris salutaribus profectibus gratulari, et contra inimicorum contritionem agnoscere." The words in italics sound like some message from Waifar to the Pope. In the next letter (p. 106) he still complains that he has heard nothing from the King himself, but he has been told of his safe return by pilgrims ("diversos ex ipsis regionibus, sospitem te ad propria . . . esse annuenti Deo reversum"). Dahn (iii. 935) will not allow Waifar any share in this matter. I do not see why in an earlier letter (p. 104) Paul prays that God will put all barbarous nations under Pippin's feet ("omnes barbaras nationes vestris Deo imitabilibus subiciens vestigiis"). Saxons of course come in; but do Gascons? Or are the misbelievers specially meant?

[3] Ib., Ep. 29, p. 109. He has now a letter from the King. Pippin's envoys had told him "quod a quibusdam malignis et mendatium proferentibus in istis partibus devulgatum esset quod, si aliqua nobis necessitas eveniret, nullum nobis ausilium prebere *valuissetis.*"

[4] Ib.; "At vero, unde nobis Christianissima vestra direxit excellentia, quod, si quisquam e vestris adversariis aut contemptoribus ad

Pope of course protests that such a thing is far from him, that he looks on the enemies of Pippin as his own. No names or countries are mentioned; but it is easy to see in these dangerous intriguers the emissaries of the Dukes of Bavaria and Aquitaine. At a somewhat later stage (764–766), in a letter of uncertain date to which we have already had to refer on other grounds [1], Tassilo appears by name as having often prayed the Pope to mediate between himself and his uncle [2]. This seems to point to a certain change in the mind of Tassilo. He has at least given up all hope of enlisting the Pope on his side against Pippin. It is to be noticed that Paul actually commissions an embassy to the King, but his envoys, the priest Philip and Ursus seemingly a layman, were stopped at Pavia by the Lombard King Desiderius and allowed to go no further [3]. But their instructions do not seem to have contained much that was at all favourable to Tassilo. Pippin was seemingly exhorted to act as he might himself think good [4]. But nothing came of all this diplomacy one way or the other. If Tassilo gained nothing, he lost nothing. If he did not win over the Pope to his side, he contrived to remain unmolested in his independence; neither Pippin nor Paul could do anything to harm him. His fall was delayed till the Frankish power had waxed yet more mighty under a prince of his own generation.

The whole year, we are told, was spent by Pippin in dealing with the affairs of Bavaria and Aquitaine, though

nos evenerit nullo modo cum eis nos aut in eorum societate misceri, absit a nobis ut hanc rem faciamus."

[1] Jaffé, Mon. Car. iii. 127.

[2] "Jam sepius nos petisse dinoscitur Tasilo Baiuariorum dux, ut nostros missos ad vestram præclaram excellentiam dirigi annuissemus ut ea inter vos provenirent quæ pacis sunt."

[3] Dahn (iii. 936) connects this action of Desiderius on behalf of Tassilo with Tassilo's marriage with Desiderius' daughter some time later.

[4] Jaffé, iii. 127; "Eo videlicet modo ut qualiter vestra fuisset voluntas, ita peragere debuissetis."

he went not forth to battle against either[1]. But the affairs of Bavaria and Aquitaine were not the only matters which he dealt with in the Mayfield of Worms. Both his sons, Charles and Karlmann, had long been nominal kings, nominal patricians, and in their very childhood they had given a formal assent to acts which affected the history of the world[2]. But as yet they had no territorial establishment; no spot of the Frankish kingdom belonged specially to either of them whether as property or as dominion. Now that they had shared in their father's campaigns, they seemed entitled to a settlement of their own. The kings and patricians practically rose in the world by receiving at their fathers' hands the lowlier style of counts; for if the kingship and patriciate were somewhat shadowy, the rank and office of count carried with it a real county. In the gathering at Worms, Pippin, who had long ago bestowed twelve counties on his brother Grifo, now bestowed certain counties, we are not told where or how many, on his sons the young kings[3]. The predestined lord of the western lands now began to practise the duties of a ruler on a small scale.

This was the first of the two years in which Pippin did no act of warfare. Against Tassilo there was no fighting at all, against Waifar none in which the King had any share. Frankish writers tell us, with a somewhat boastful air, that, in the long strife between King and Duke, the power of Pippin was ever growing greater and greater, while the tyranny—that is the word they choose—of Waifar was ever growing weaker and weaker[4]. And on the whole it was so. The loss of Bavaria as a land

[1] Ann. Laur. 764; "Nullum iter aliud fecit, nisi in Francia resedit, causam pertractabat inter Waifarium et Tassilonem."

[2] See above, p. 152.

[3] Ann. Petav. 763; "Domnus Pipinus habuit placitum suum Wormacia, deditque comitatus dilectis filiis suis."

[4] Cont. Fred. 127; "Pippinus rex Deo auxiliante magis et magis crescens, et semper in seipso robustior factus est: pars autem Waifarii et ejus tyrannitas decrescens quotidie."

from which he could summon a contingent to his army must have somewhat weakened Pippin's power; but the most important direct result of Tassilo's secession was not so much the actual lessening of his uncle's military strength as the weakening of his counsels which made him for two years unable to make any use of that strength. When Pippin again made up his mind to strike, his arm was as strong as ever; but for two years he knew not on which side to strike or whether to strike at all. Of the two dangerous lands, Bavaria was lost for the rest of Pippin's days; Aquitaine was in the end won. But before Pippin went forth again against Waifar, before there was any more fighting at all, there was, as has been already implied, some important negotiation. The battle fought in the Limousin must have been a serious blow to Waifar, as it led him to seek for peace. He sent an embassy, most likely to the Mayfield at Worms[1] (754). He sought for peace, and he did not claim perfect independence; but the terms which he offered showed that he looked on the Frankish power as a good deal weakened. He was ready to be a tributary, doubtless not a vassal like Tassilo; but it must be for the whole Aquitanian dominions as he had inherited them, not for that part of them only which Pippin's successive campaigns had left to him. Let the King restore Bourges and whatever else he had taken into his possession on Aquitanian ground, and the Duke was willing to pay whatever tribute former Kings of the Franks had been wont to receive from the province of Aquitaine[2]. These words are not very clear. We may doubt whether any Duke of the Aquitanians had ever paid

[1] Ann. Laur. do not mention this embassy, unless in the general terms quoted in Note above. It is recorded in Cont. Fred. 130.

[2] "Petens ei quod Bituricas et reliquas civitates Aquitaniæ provinciæ quas de manu ejus prædictus rex abstulerat ei redderet, et postea ipsas Waifarius suæ ditionis faceret; tributa vel munera quæ antecessores sui reges Francorum de Aquitania provincia exigere consueverant, annis singulis partibus prædicto regi Pippino solvere deberet." We seem here to have the formal words of a document.

tribute; we have heard nothing of it at the time of the submission of Aquitaine to Charles Martel. The proposal has therefore been understood to mean that the Duke would pay the King a tribute equal to the revenue which the Merwing princes who had held Aquitaine as an immediate dominion had drawn from it[1]. This sounds like a somewhat archaic style of finance, turning on a point not very easy to ascertain. But in any case the general meaning of the offer is that Waifar would submit to acknowledge Frankish superiority, even in the shape of paying a tribute, on condition of the Frankish conquests being given back to him. The King might draw a revenue from Bourges and Clermont; but the Duke must hold their walls and rule over their inhabitants. But Pippin, if he was not at this moment minded to fight for his conquests, was still less minded to give them up again without fighting. The King of the Franks, his counsellors, and all his people—the formula implies the solemn decree of the Mayfield—refused peace on the terms proposed by Duke Waifar[2].

But if they refused peace, they did not actively seek war. This first year (764) of Pippin's laborious rest is a year of Frankish successes, but of successes won wholly in local and defensive warfare. It would seem that as soon as Waifar's terms were refused in the Mayfield at Worms, he took to arms without waiting to be attacked. There was no general war, no invasion of Frankish territory on a great scale; but the local Frankish leaders had to beat back Aquitanian inroads on three different frontiers. The forces of the neighbouring Aquitanian lands entered Touraine, Burgundy, and Septimania all at once. The third of these inroads is specially memorable, as we are tempted to connect it with œcumenical events, and

[1] Fauriel, iii. 271.

[2] Cont. Fred. 130; "Sed hoc rex per consilium Francorum et procerum suorum facere contempsit."

with embassies which show how great a place the Frankish power had won for itself in the eyes of the whole world. It is singular how often just at this time we have to put our story together backwards. We know that, the year after that which we have now reached, Pippin sent envoys to the Abbasside Caliph; but we know it only because, four years after the present date, they came back after a three years' absence[1]. And the sending of envoys by Pippin to Al-Mansur suggests that envoys had already been sent by Al-Mansur to Pippin. The King of the Franks would not seem to have had any special interests so far to the East, while the Commander of the Faithful had very strong interests in the West, and interests which were Pippin's interests as well. The power which was growing up at Cordova was the enemy of both. As has been said above, the Ommiad house, cut off to a man in the East, had in Spain founded a new dynasty and had rent away the Western lands of Islam from the obedience of the Caliph who had moved the throne of the East from Damascus to Bagdad. As usual, we hear of the embassies without knowing anything that they really did, without knowing whether any formal agreements were come to between the princes who sent them. But agreements between Pippin and Al-Mansur could have reference only to common action against Abd-al-Rahman and his supporters in Spain. To a prince, even an infidel prince, who was ready to strike a blow against his special rival the Caliph could forgive the severing of Narbonne from Islam and the submission of Barcelona to a Christian overlord.

There is no direct evidence on the point; but it is not hard to imagine a certain connexion between the world-wide diplomacy which, at least in the next year, was stretching from Compiègne to Bagdad and the local affairs of Southern Gaul during the present year. To a Duke of Aquitaine the Saracens of Spain would have seemed

[1] Cont. Fred. 134.

natural enemies, if he had not a more dangerous enemy in the King of the Franks who had just won Septimania from those Saracens. In the warfare of this year, in the expedition which Waifar sent against the Franks at Narbonne, he may very well have been acting in direct concert with Abd-al-Rahman; he certainly acted as his practical ally. Notwithstanding the Frankish occupation of Septimania and the Frankish superiority over Barcelona, Narbonne had still to be defended with special care against the danger of Saracen attacks. A Frankish garrison was kept in the city; but the same leaders and men were not always employed on this distant and dangerous service; it would seem that the garrison of Narbonne was periodically recalled and succeeded by a fresh force. Of this arrangement Waifar sought to take advantage; he would cut off the Franks on their march, either the body that was leaving the city or the body which was coming to enter it[1]. On this errand the Duke sent a Count Mancio, a kinsman of his own. A Frankish detachment under two counts, Australd and Galeran, was just now going home. Mancio set upon them with a vast host, we are told, who are again spoken of as Gascons. After some hard fighting, Mancio and his chief comrades were slain, and the rest of his army turned in flight. Some escaped the Frankish pursuit among hills and dales; but all the horses and much booty became the prize of the Franks on their homeward march[2]. But it was not only the Frankish garrison of Narbonne who had a hand in driving back the Aquitanian inroad. The men of the Septimanian land knew on which side their interests lay, and joined zealously

[1] All this seems implied in the words of the Continuator (127); "Mancionem comitem consobrinum suum partibus Narbonæ cum reliquis comitibus transmisit, ut custodias quas prædictus rex Narbonam propter gentem Terracenorum ad custodiendam miserat, ne aut intrarent, aut si aliquando iterum in patriam reverterentur, capere aut interficere eos potuisset."

[2] "Omnes equites"—the same use as in Gregory of Tours—"quos ibidem adduxerant, miserunt."

in the work. A noble Goth, whose name is not given, was Count of Maguelone under the Frankish king; the whole Gothic land is now spoken of as part of the Frankish kingdom. He served his lord well and faithfully, and helped to smite the invading Gascons with a great slaughter [1]. We hear of his exploits because of the fame of his son in quite another sphere. The son of the Goth of Maguelone, a scholar of Queen Bertrada, a cup-bearer of King Pippin, a soldier both of Pippin and Charles, became in after days the saintly abbot of a Septimanian monastery, and the Life of Saint Benedict of Anian has handed down to us this small notice of the deeds of his father [2].

It does not appear that any Saracen forces had any direct share in this campaign. But it was against Saracens, the Saracens of Spain, that Narbonne was garrisoned, and, in fighting against the garrison of Narbonne, Waifar was doing the work of Abd-al-Rahman, and thereby acting as an enemy of Al-Mansur. Out of such a state of things the friendly intercourse of the next year may well have arisen; it may have already begun. The dealings between the foremost Christian of the West and the foremost Mussulman of the East are on the grand œcumenical scale of the age. We feel that we are fast drawing near to the state of things with which we become familiar a little later, when Christendom and Islam are distinctly parted out between the two Empires and the two Caliphates [3],

[1] Vita S. Ben. An., Bouquet, v. 456; "Ex Getarum genere partibus Gotiæ oriundus fuit, Nobilibus natalibus ortus ... Pater ejus comitatum Magdalonensem, quoadusque vixit tenuit, et Francorum genti fidelissimus totis viribus exstitit, fortis et ingeniosus, hostibus enim valde erat infestus. Hic nempe magna prostravit strage Wascones, qui vastandi gratia fines regni Francorum fuerant ingressi, e quibus nullus evasit, nisi quem pernix fuga salvavit." This must surely be the expedition of Mancio.

[2] Ib. The Count of Maguelone "pueriles gerentem annos filium suum in aula gloriosi Pippini regis reginæ tradidit inter scholares nutriendum ... posthæc vero pincernæ sortitur officium," &c.

[3] I spoke of this long ago in my History and Conquests of the Saracens, p. 94.

each claiming to be the lawful head of its own faith, each the enemy of its neighbour of the other faith, each on good terms with its more distant professor. The Western Emperor is the friend of the Eastern Caliph, the enemy of the Western; the Eastern Caliph is the enemy of the Eastern Emperor, the friend of the Western. We have not yet quite reached this stage, but at this very moment we are getting a step nearer to it. We have seen that negotiations were busy, not only between the Frankish king and the Caliph, but between the Frankish king and the Emperor. And we have seen how narrowly those negotiations were watched by the Roman Bishop, lest the Frankish king should at all fall aside from the position into which he is fast drifting, of a rival power to the Emperor. The King and Patrician is not an avowed enemy of the Emperor; but he none the less practically keeps him out of Rome and Northern Italy. The King of the Franks is not yet an Emperor, the Emir of Cordova is not yet a Caliph; but both in Christendom and in Islam the powers of the West are forming themselves; they are taking their places as natural enemies to one another, natural enemies no less to the elder powers of their several creeds in the Eastern lands.

The two other expeditions which Waifar sent forth this year (764) against the Frankish territory suggest few thoughts beyond the bounds of Gaul, but a good many within it. If Pippin had occupied the Arvernian city, he had not occupied the whole of the Arvernian land, and a successor of the slain Blandinus, Chilping by name, was its present count under Waifar[1]. He gathered an army from all parts, and entered the kingdom of Burgundy—so it is expressly called—by way of Lyons. But he must have spread his

[1] Cont. Fred. 128; "Chilpingus comes Arvernorum, collecto undique exercitu, in pago Lugdunensi in regno Burgundiæ ad prædandum ambulare nitebatur."

harryings some way, as it was somewhere on the banks of the Loire, most likely on his way back, that he was met by the Frankish avengers, in the persons of Adelhard Count of Challon, and the same Count Australd who had already defeated Mancio in Septimania. A fight on the banks of the Loire followed, in which Chilping and many of his men were slain; the rest fled, and saved themselves in woods and marshes[1]. Meanwhile the war was for the first time carried into the Frankish lands on the lower course of the Loire. Tours and its county, a Frankish city and land on the Aquitanian side of the river, must have been specially tempting to Waifar's ambition. Amanung, Waifar's count at Poitou, led a body of plunderers into Touraine; they were met by the servants of Saint Martin himself, perhaps in the absence of the Abbot Wulfhard on his Roman embassy. The saint's men were strong enough to beat back the Poitevin invaders with the loss of their count and the greater part of their body[2].

If Pippin had foes among them of his own household, so had Waifar. About the time of the unsuccessful attack on Touraine, Remistan, described as an uncle of the Duke —he is said to have been a natural son of his grandfather Eudo[3]—forsook the cause of his nephew and came over, for a while, to that of the Frankish king. He came to Pippin, and made oaths of faithfulness to the King himself and to the two younger kings his sons[4]. Such a proselyte

[1] "Vix pauci silvis et paludibus ingressi evaserunt." The fight was "super fluvium Legerem."

[2] "Ab hominibus Wlfardi abbatis monasterii beati Martini interfectus est."

[3] So Fauriel, iii. 278. Dahn (iii. 938) gives the pedigree without any mark of illegitimacy. He is "filius Eudone" further on in Cont. Fred. 133.

[4] Cont. Fred. 128; "Sacramenta multa et fidem prædicto regi Pippino promisit, ut semper fidelis tam prædicto regi quam filiis suis omni tempore esse deberet."

One is tempted to see another proselyte of the Frank, more faithful than Remistan, in Wibert, father of Saint Hiltrudis, whose story is given in Bouquet, v. 442. He is "genere nobilis et actibus, pago

was naturally welcomed; Remistan received costly gifts of the usual kind, gold and silver, raiment, arms and horses[1]. The King had more than this in store for him, but the event showed that his gifts were not well bestowed.

It was most likely about this time that Pippin put forth a document which reminds one of the proclamation of Thanksgiving-day by an American Governor or President. The land had recovered from the fearful winter; the fields had brought forth abundantly; the inroads of the enemy had been beaten back; the land was again rich and happy. For these good things thanks were owing to the Giver of them. The King accordingly sent a letter to Lull, the successor of Boniface in the see of Mainz, bidding him send circular letters to all other bishops to provide for the due giving of thanks throughout their dioceses[2]. Litanies were to be sung, not litanies of sorrow and fasting, such as were sung in days of sorrow, but litanies of thanksgiving only to the God who had given so great abundance[3]. All

Pictaviensi ex nobilissima prosapia ortus." His wife Ada is "ex nobilioribus Francorum." He is "hostibus proximis nimium circumdatus," on which he goes to the King, of whom "precibus exegit quatenus de regio jure locum sibi concederet, in quo salva pace mansionem sibi collocans, ab hostibus secederet." Pippin grants him lands very far off in Hennegau. This reads like a Poitevin supporter of the King in the midst of Waifar's men.

[1] "Multa munera auri et argenti et pretiosa vestimenta, equites et arma."

[2] The "Encyclica de Letaniis Faciendis" is printed in Pertz, Legg. i. 32. The King says "cognitum scimus sanctitati vestræ qualem pietatem et misericordiam Deus fecit *præsenti anno* in terra ista. Dedit tribulationem pro delictis nostris, post tribulationem autem magnam atque mirabilem consolationem sive habundantiam fructus terræ quæ modo habemus." If there was a good harvest in 764 after the frightful winter of 763, that and the driving back of the Aquitanian inroads would make this language just fit the latter part of 764. But of course it may belong to some later time.

[3] "Sic nobis videtur ut absque jejunio indicto unusquisque episcopus in sua parrochia letanias faciat, non cum jejunio, nisi tantum in laude Dei qui talem nobis habundantiam dedit."

men were to give bountiful alms, and to feed the poor. And moreover the bishops were to take care in the King's name that every man, willing or unwilling, should pay his tithe[1]. The payment which had once been preached as a religious duty was fast stiffening into a legal obligation, to be enforced first by the censures of the Church and then by the strength of the secular arm.

The next year (765) was still more fully a year of peace. Not only did the King not go forth to battle, but, as far as we can see, no sword was drawn at all in the Frankish realm. But it was a busy year of diplomacy. The King kept his Easter at Quierzy and held the Mayfield at Attigny[2]. It was most likely from that assembly that the Frankish envoys set forth to make their long journey to Bagdad. And we have seen that at no time had the Frankish king more to do with the nearer lands of Christendom. For the Christmas feast he went northward, and kept it at a spot of which we have not hitherto heard, but which was presently to become for a season the very centre of Frankish power and Frankish glory. Of the crowds of places in Gaul and elsewhere which bore the name of *Aquæ*, we have already heard of that Aquæ of the Gascon land where the name lives as Ax or Dax; we have heard of the more famous Aquæ of Sextius, that Aix of Provence which looks up to Gaius Marius' Mount of Victory; we now hear for the first time of Aquæ Grani in the native land of the Karlings, Aachen[3] in the tongue of

[1] "Et faciat unusquisque homo sua ælimosina, et pauperes pascat. Et sic prævidere faciatis et ordinare de verbo nostro ut unusquisque homo, *aut vellet aut nollet*, suam decimam *donet*." It is still a gift, though a constrained gift.

[2] Ann. Laur. 765; "Rex Pippinus habuit placitum suum ad Athiniacam, et nullum fecit aliud iter." Einhard improves this somewhat; "neque prope Aquitanicum bellum, quamvis non finitum, regni sui terminos egressus est."

[3] "Celebravit natalem Domini in *Aquis villa* et pascha similiter," say Ann. Laur. Einhard, who had seen so many great days when Aachen was no longer a mere *villa*, says "hiberna Aquisgrani habuit."

its own people, but which in the Welsh speech takes its surname from the church where the most renowned of Franks found his last resting-place. Now for the first time Pippin kept the Midwinter feast and the Easter that followed it in the future home of his Imperial son, the future crowning-place of German kings. Not yet boasting itself as the chief seat of kingship, the highest court of kings, hardly claiming as yet to be reckoned among royal cities or cities of any kind, the royal *vill* of Aachen[1] had a foretaste of its great days under Pippin's son in this sojourn of Pippin himself in this year of rest from warlike labours.

The next year (766) was of another kind. Pippin again girded himself for the Aquitanian war. The work had to be done; if Tassilo kept quiet, he might be put out of mind for a season; the submission of Aquitaine, its incorporation with the rest of Gaul as part of the Frankish realm, was far more important than any renewed homage on the part of Bavaria. Above all, the lord of Narbonne, the overlord of Barcelona, the friend of the Abbasside Caliph at Bagdad, the enemy of the Ommiad Emir at Cordova, could not allow his ally of Cordova, the enemy of Narbonne, to part asunder the northern and southern parts of the Frankish realm, by a hostile occupation stretching from the Pyrenees to the Loire. This time the work was to be set about in earnest. The Mayfield was held at Orleans; but, as the Marchfield had changed into a Mayfield, it would seem that the Mayfield itself was beginning to be held in other months, and that the assembly of this year was really

I wish we could call this place, as our forefathers did, in good Nether-Dutch, *Aken* (suggesting our own *Acemannesceaster* or Aquæ Salis); but, in the train of the Teutonic Emperor, any kind of Dutch is better than Welsh.

[1] See the poem on Aachen at the end of the Vita Karoli in the smaller Pertz;

"Urbs Aquensis, urbs regalis,
Regni sedes principalis,
Summa regum curia."

held in July. It is certain that the King was at Orleans in that month, and he could hardly have done all that he did so speedily that the date could belong to the return march [1]. At this gathering, whenever held, the great men of the Franks came forward with plentiful gifts to help their king in his work [2]. Thus strengthened, he crossed the Loire, taking with him his new Aquitanian vassal Remistan. The first business was to set up again the fortresses which Waifar had dismantled and to hold them firmly as outposts of the Frankish power. The beginning was naturally made near the frontier, in the land of Berry. The capital was already a Frankish possession; new Frankish forces were placed in it [3], and part of its territory was put to a new use. The King restored the fortress of Argenton on the Creuze, one of the strongholds which Waifar had slighted, and entrusted its defence against his nephew to Remistan. He gave him also a noble fief, all Berry west of the Cher [4]. The host then marched on, wasting as it went, till it reached a point much further

[1] A grant to Saint Denis in Sickel, ii. 8, is dated "Aurelianis civ . publice . inl . a . 15." Yet the assembly keeps the formal name. "Usque ad Aurelianis veniens, ibi placitum suum Campo Medio pro utilitate Francorum instituit," says Cont. Fred. 131.

[2] Ib.; "Multis muneribus a Francis et proceribus suis ditatus est."

[3] Ann. Laur. 766; "In Biturigas Francorum scaram conlocavit." (See Du Cange in Scara.)

[4] Ann. S. Amandi; "Pippinus fuit in Wasconia et fecit Argentum." Ann. Laur.; "Restauravit Argentomo castro quod ante Waifarius destruxit. Supradictus Pippinus rex castrum nominatum reædificavit, ibi Francos misit Aquitaniam continendo." The mention of Remistan, who is found nowhere else, comes from Cont. Fred. 129; "Rex Pippinus castrum cui nomen est Arguntonum in pago Bitorino a fundamento miro opere in pristinum statum reparare jussit, comites suos ibidem ad custodiendum mittens, ipsum castrum Remistano ad Waifario resistendum, cum medietate pagi Bitorini usque ad Carum concessit." This grant is the district called Bas-Berry, answering nearly to the present department of Indre. Fauriel (iii. 284) mourns over the dismemberment of Berry and the degradation of Bourges.

south than any to which the Frankish arms had yet been carried. The whole land of Aquitaine was gone through, from the Loire, its frontier against the Frank, to the Garonne which divided it from the true Gascon land in the south-western corner of Gaul. Pippin halted on the bank of the great southern river, in Agen, city of the fruits of the south, then keeping both its minsters, the vanished Saint Stephen as well as the still abiding Saint Caprais[1]. His presence there struck fear on both sides of the Garonne; many both of the true Gascons on its left bank and of the chief men of Aquitaine came in to make their submission to the Frankish king[2]. The King then struck northward, and marched by way of Périgueux and Angoulême to Limoges. He occupied those cities, perhaps others[3]. He

[1] Cont. Fred. 131; "Totam Aquitaniam pergens, usque ad Aginnum veniens, totam regionem illam devastavit." I know not why Fauriel (iii. 283) doubts Pippin's getting as far as Agen. According to my notion of the campaign, it was a most obvious point for him to aim at.

[2] Ib.; "Videntes tam Wascones quam majores natu Aquitanise, necessitate compulsi plurimi ad eum venerunt, sacramenta ad eum ibidem donant, et se ditionis suæ faciunt."

[3] I put together this notion of the campaign and its results from several sources. Ann. Laur. mention no place by name after Argenton. The Continuator, after the submission at Agen, goes on; "Ita omni Aquitania provincia nimium vastata, cum multa præda et spoliis, per pagum Patragoricum et Equolisnam, jam pene omni Aquitania acquisita, cum omni exercitu Francorum *iterum eo anno* reversus est in Franciam cum suis omnibus." The last clause would seem, from the words in italics, to have crept in from next year, when there were two expeditions; but the geography is all sound. I add Limoges to the list on several grounds. It is the obvious way back, unless, of which there is no sign, the King had struck out quite a new road through Poitou and across the lower Loire. Then Limoges is distinctly mentioned in several of the smaller annals. Ann. Alam. 766; "Pippinus conquisivit Limodiam." Ann. Nazar. 766; "Pippinus erat cum Francis in Wasconia, et conquisivit *Limodiam civitatem* et alias civitates." (One might almost construe this of the *cité* as opposed to any doings either in the Limousin country or in the suburb of Saint Martial.) On the other hand two annals place the conquest of Limoges in the next year. Ann. Pet. has, "767. Iterum domnus

had laid waste the land of Limoges[1]; he had perhaps done honour to the saint who dwelled outside the walls of the city; he now occupied the city itself. The walls of all these cities, slighted by Waifar, were set up again by Pippin[2]. Angoulême was again made strong on her hill and Limoges by her river's bank; and the wall of the second Vesona, built to keep out the Vandal, the Suevian, and the Alan, rose again, at the bidding of the Frank, to its former height, as bulwark against the Gascon and the remnant of the Goth. The King then marched back to the Frankish land, doubtless by the newly restored fortresses of Argenton and Bourges.

We are told that, through this campaign, the greater part of Aquitaine was won into Pippin's hands[3]. The campaigns of the next two years show us what Waifar still held after Pippin's march to Agen. The whole of south-eastern Aquitaine had still to be conquered; so had the lands nearer to the Ocean by Bordeaux and Saintes. But a march to Agen, a large submission received there, a return march occupying Périgueux, Angoulême, and Limoges, added to the earlier occupation of both parts of Berry, cut off the parts of Aquitaine which remained unsubdued from one another. Waifar still held both Bordeaux and Toulouse; but all communication between the two was stopped by a strip of territory in Frankish occupation stretching from the Loire to the middle course of the Garonne, and

Pippinus fuit in Wasconia in mense Martio et conquisivit Lemovicas civitatem." Ann. Laureshamenses; "767. Conquisivit domnus rex Pippinus Limodium civitatem et alias civitates in Wasconia." All these together seem to fix the actual taking of Limoges to these years and not to any earlier time. But 766 is to be preferred to 767, because Limoges exactly fits in with the geography of 766, while the campaign of March 767 was in quite another quarter.

[1] See above, p. 245.

[2] This seems the time for the repairs recorded in Cont. Fred. 129 (see above, p. 242), at least as regards Périgueux, Angoulême, and Limoges.

[3] "Jam pene omni Aquitania acquisita," says the extract quoted above.

strengthened by the possession of a line of strongly fortified cities from Bourges to Agen. One almost wonders why Pippin, having done so much, did not do yet more, and did not strive to finish the war in the present year. The reason is doubtless to be found in the nature of the armies of those times. Pippin was not a professional general at the head of a professional army. He was a king at the head of his armed people. To him and to them a campaign in Aquitaine was part of the year's duty, but not all. We may be sure that by the time they had got to Limoges and seen to its walls, every Frank, from the King downwards, thought he had been quite long enough in those parts, and was yearning to be again at home, able to give his mind to other matters, public and private.

And that winter (766–767) Pippin had matters to attend to of quite another kind from taking cities and repairing walls in Southern Gaul. Yet we see how near the completion of his Aquitanian conquest lay to his heart when we find him setting out for another campaign, long before the usual time of warfare, long before the time either of the Easter festival or of the holding of the Mayfield. Pippin kept his Christmas at Samoncy near Laon; perhaps there, perhaps elsewhere, was held the dispute between the theologians of East and West touching those points of the divine mysteries on which the Emperor of the Romans and the Patrician of the Romans did not think alike[1]. Very early in the year the King was again in arms and on his way southward. The campaign opened in the month of March by quite a new road. The King now visited his conquest of Narbonne in person, and from that still Gothic city set forth to the conquest of the other lands north of the Pyrenees where the Goth had reigned in past days. From Narbonne he went straight to the elder capital of a wider Gothia, to Toulouse itself, the royal seat

[1] Ann. Laur. and Einh.

of the Theodorics of the Western branch. Their palace, of which we can now look only on the site, stood doubtless ready to receive him. The capital of the Roman city, the golden abbey of Our Lady by the Garonne, the minster of Saint Saturninus beyond the walls, again passed under the rule of a Frankish lord [1]. From Toulouse he struck north-east to Alby, more famous in later days as bestowing a name on one form of Aquitanian ecclesiology. He went on, by Rhodez, by Javols (now no longer a city [2]), adding each town and its land to his earlier conquests with such speed that by Easter-tide (April 19) he was again on the Burgundian side of the Rhone, and kept the feast this year in that same Vienne where, thirteen years before, he had left his wife and brother when he went forth to his first warfare with the Lombard [3]. Bertrada was not this time at Vienne, but we hear of her in the second campaign of the year. After the paschal feast the King seems to have disbanded his army, to be gathered again in the month of August at the old trysting-place of Troyes [4].

[1] This first campaign of 767 is left out by the Continuator. It is marked in Ann. Laur. 767; "Postea porrexit iter per Narbonam, Tolosam cepit, Albiensem similiter necnon et Gaveldanum, et sanus reversus est in patriam et celebravit pascha in Vienna civitate." Burgundy, we may mark, is part of the "patria" of Pippin, and the Easter at Vienne shows that there must be some mistake in the entry under 766 of an Easter this year at Gentilly. The Moissac Chronicle adds another city; "Pippinus rex Narbonam veniens, Tolosa, Albigis, et Ruthenis illi traditæ sunt." The two campaigns of the year are clearly marked in Ann. S. Amandi, 767; "Iterum Pippinus fuit in Wasconia in mense Martio et iterum in mense Augusto." Ann. Alam., Gwelf., Naz.; "Pippinus Tolosam perrexit."

[2] On the decayed "Gabola civitas," Javols, and its district Gévaudon, see Longnon, p. 528.

[3] See above, p. 163.

[4] This is implied in the narrative of the second campaign of the year in Cont. Fred. 132; "Commoto omni exercitu Francorum, per pagum Tracasinum," &c. The army was therefore disbanded. It is Einhard who says; "Viennam reversus, postquam ibi et paschalis festi sacra peregit et exercitum a labore refecit, jam prope æstate confecta, mense Augusto ad reliquias belli profectus est." But there is nothing

The second campaign of this year is described as one waged to gather in the remnants which were left after so much earlier warfare, especially that of the spring just past [1]. The conquests of that campaign had filled up the gap to the east which had been left by the warfare of last year. Waifar had now no continuous territory left except the western coast lands, the lands of Bordeaux, Saintes, perhaps of Poitiers. A few detached points only still held out in the lands conquered before Easter. Three are specially mentioned; Scoraille among the south-western hills of Auvergne, the later Cantal, Turenne in the Lower Limousin, a little way south of the Corretian Brive, and Peyrasse, north-west of Rhodez, in the later Rovergne [2]. All these, even the first of them, are places of little account in later history, but they were clearly strongholds of that day, and they still stood firm for Waifar. The object of Pippin's second campaign of this year was partly to occupy these outlying posts of the enemy; but yet more to get possession of the person of the chief enemy himself. From Troyes the host marched as usual to Auxerre; the Loire was crossed at a new point, perhaps Gordon, perhaps Cosne. The king crossed the river with all boldness, as in his own territory, and the conquered capital of Aquitaine was made more speakingly a Frankish possession than ever. Bourges was to become a dwelling-place of Frankish kings, a meeting-place of Frankish assemblies. Queen Bertrada had come with her husband; for her better reception a palace was built in the newly won city [3]. We

answering to this in Ann. Laur., and neither Pippin nor his army would have at all enjoyed staying at Vienne from Easter to August.

[1] "Reliquiæ belli" in the last extract.

[2] Ann. Laur. preserve the names of these places, "castrum Scoraliam, Torinnam, Petrociam," in the narrative of the August campaign.

[3] Cont. Fred. 132; "Ad castrum quod vocatur Gordinis, cum regina sua Bertraduna, *jam fiducialiter Ligere transacto*, ad Betoricas accessit, palatium sibi ædificare jussit." Ann. Pet. 767; "Domna Berta regina erat Bitaricas civitatem." So Ann. Laureshamenses. The site of

may lament that the house is not still standing to enable us to compare the home of a king of the eighth century with that of a merchant-prince of the fifteenth. The Mayfield of the year was either repeated or held for the first time at Bourges in the month of August[1] (767). The Queen was left at Bourges; the King set forth to accomplish the two objects of his march. The obstinate fortresses were now taken, and we are told that the King won for himself many rocks and caves[2]. Southern Gaul has plenty of both; Périgueux was his; but it may be that unsubdued bands of the followers of Waifar still held out in those holes in the rocks by the Dordogne which had been the dwelling-places of earlier inhabitants of the land. The geography of the campaign is not marked beyond the taking of the three castles, Scoraille, Turenne, Peyrasse. It lasted till winter, and was chiefly devoted to a vain chase after Waifar, who was not to be caught[3]. The King went back to his Queen at Bourges, and there heard two pieces of news. Pope Paul was dead[4]; the disputed election of his

Gordinis seems uncertain. If there is a place, however obscure, called Gordon, it seems more likely than Cosne.

[1] Cont. Fred. 132; "Iterum Campo Madio, sicut mos erat, ibidem tenere jubet, initoque consilio," &c. Does "iterum" imply a second meeting? It hardly need in the Continuator's language. Ann. Laur.; "Bituricam usque venit, ibi synodum fecit cum omnibus Francis solito more in campo." Einhard improves "synodum," which certainly has an oddly clerical sound, into "conventum."

[2] Ann. Laur.; "Roccas et speluncas conquisivit, castrum Scoraliam, Torinnam, Petrociam." Einhard's improvements are curious; "Inde ad Garonnam fluvium accedens, castella multa et petras atque speluncas, in quibus se hostium manus plurima defendebat, cœpit, inter quæ præcipue fuere," &c. The Continuator has nothing about these outlying fortresses, while the Annales have nothing about the chase of Waifar, though Einhard seems to imply it by carrying Pippin to the Garonne.

[3] The Continuator records the chase of Waifar. Pippin goes "cum reliquis Francis optimatibus suis persequendum Waifarium." Then "cum ipsum Waifarium persequens non reperiret, jam tempus hiemis erat," and he goes back to the Queen at Bourges.

[4] Ann. Laur. Several of the smaller annals also record Paul's death.

successor must at least have caused the Roman Patrician some thought; but the King of the Franks had cares and dangers much nearer the new home that he had chosen in Aquitaine. While Pippin was vainly chasing Waifar, the Aquitanian prince who had already become his man, turned against him. Had the submission of Remistan been a mere blind from the beginning? or did his heart smite him, when he saw his native land fall bit by bit into the power of the stranger, and his kinsman and former lord hunted like a wild beast? The lord of Argenton and western Berry threw off his Frankish allegiance and went back to the cause of his nephew. If Pippin knew not where to find Waifar, Remistan did; he made his way to the hunted Duke and again became his man[1]. The joy of Waifar was naturally great, and he gave Remistan a commission to do all that he could against the king whom he had forsaken[2]. The possession of Argenton gave him good opportunities; he made it a stronghold of plunderers to lay waste the lands of Berry and the Limousin, and even to annoy the garrisons which held the cities. The hold of the Frankish conquerors on the conquered lands had become so firm that the days of peace had come back; men tilled the soil and tended the vineyards in perfect safety. Remistan's revolt put an end to this time of renewed quiet. He attacked every place that held out for the King; he laid waste all the lands in his allegiance. No husbandman now dared to go forth to his field or to his vineyard[3]. King Pippin

[1] Cont. 132; "Dum hæc agerentur, Remistanus filius Eidone, quondam fidem suam quam prædicto regi Pippino promiserat fefellit, et ad Waifarium iterum veniens, ditionis suæ se faciens." It is here that we get Remistan's parentage.

[2] Ib.; "Quod Waifarius cum magno gaudio eum recepit, et adjutorem sibi contra Francos et prædictum regem eum instituit."

[3] Ib.; "Remistanus contra . . . custodias quas ipse rex in ipsius civitatibus dimiserat, nimium infestus accessit, et Betorinum seu Limoticinum quod ipse rex acquisiverat, prædando nimium vastavit, ita ut nullus colonus terræ ad laborandum, tam agros quam vineas colere non audebat." "Beturinum," "Limoticinum," without "pagus," is an

came back to his house and his wife at Bourges to find a great piece of his work undone. But it was too late in the year to chastise rebels. Active work was to be put off till after Christmas; but the Frankish host was this time not disbanded. For the first time in these days we hear of winter-quarters. The army abode in Burgundy [1]—we have no more definite geography—while the King and Queen, seemingly with several bishops in their company, kept the Midwinter feast at Bourges [2].

In the last year of Pippin's life the time when kings go forth to battle fell early (February 15, 768). In the middle of February the army was summoned from its winter-quarters in Burgundy to meet the King at Bourges [3]. A plan of campaign was settled. There was now little left to do except to hunt down as might be two men who, with their immediate following, alone kept up resistance. Remistan must be caught; then the harrying of Berry and the Limousin would come to an end. Waifar must be caught; then the whole Aquitanian war was likely to come to an end. To make sure of Remistan, who was to be taken by craft, the King sent a chosen party under four leaders whom we know. To make sure of Waifar, the King set forth himself openly with the main body of the army. Among the names of the leaders sent against Remistan, one is to be noticed. The four are Hermenald, Berengar, Hilderad, and Humbert Count of Bourges. This last is seemingly the same Humbert who had borne his

early use of the form which became so common, "the Limousin," "the Milanese," and the like. *Berry* is different; it is an independent form of "Bituricæ," alongside of the name of the city.

[1] "Rex Pippinus in Betoricas per hiemem totam cum regina sua Bertradane in palatio resedit." "Totum exercitum suum per Burgundiam ad hiemandum mittens." That this means that they stayed in Burgundy appears from the next years.

[2] "Per consilium episcoporum vel sacerdotum venerabiliter celebravit."

[3] Cont. Fred. 134; "Cum in Betoricas resideret, mediante Februario omnem exercitum suum quem in Burgundiam ad hiemandum miserat, ad se venire præcepit."

part in Waifar's proud message to the King and also in the harrying of the land of Challon[1]. He must have submitted to Pippin, like Remistan; and here we find him so high in the King's trust, he is looked on as so little likely to follow Remistan's example of double treason, that he is one of those who are sent to hunt down his old comrade. Queen Bertrada was sent away from Bourges, for what reason is not very clear, unless an attack on the city from the forces of Remistan was looked for. She went to Orleans, and thence sailed down the Loire to a place whose name is given as *Sels* and *Sellus*, but the position of which it is not easy to fix[2].

The King was seemingly on the point of setting forth, when news was brought to Bourges that the ambassadors who had three years before been sent to the Caliph had landed at Marseilles, bringing with them a Saracen embassy and many gifts from the Commander of the Faithful to the King of the Franks[3]. It was not a moment at which

[1] Ann. Laur. 768, which have said nothing about either the submission or the revolt of Remistan, mention his capture; "Rex Pippinus, iter faciens, et Remistagnum cepit et ad Sanctones civitatem usque pervenit." Einhard leaves out the mention of him. The fuller account of course comes from Cont. Fred.; "Inito consilio, contra Remistanum insidias parat, Hermenaldum, Beringarium, Childeradum, et Unibertum comitem Biturinum cum reliquis comitibus et leudibus suis ad ipsum Remistanum capiendum clam mittens, prædictus rex Pippinus cum omni exercitu Francorum iterum ad persequendum Waifarium destinavit." The "leudes" here are clearly the chief men, as distinguished from "omnis exercitus." On Chuniberht or Hunibert, see above, p. 242.

[2] "Castrum" or "castellum," "quod dicitur Sels" say Ann. Laur. and Einhard. Cont. Fred. is more exact, 134; "Bertrada regina Aurelianis veniens, et inde navali evectione per Ligerim fluvium usque ad Sellus castrum super fluvium ipsius Ligeris pervenit." (See the note of Pertz, and Oelsner, 411.) There are two places in the Blaisois called Selles; one Selle Saint-Denis and the greater Selles-sur-Cher; but neither of them is on the Loire, and one cannot conceive why either should be chosen for the Queen's shelter. If the name is right it must be some unknown place further down the Loire.

[3] Cont. Fred. 134; "Nuntiatum est regi quod missi sui, quos dudum ad Amormuni [the Caliph Al-Mansur Emir-al-M . . . .] regem

he could well receive them; officers were sent to Marseilles to welcome the Eastern visitors with all honour, and to take them to spend the rest of the winter season at Metz [1]. Metz is a long way from Marseilles, and the Frankish dominion contained many places which might seem better fitted as a winter sojourn for guests from the morning-land. Was it wished to keep them as far as might be from the scene of war, and above all to keep them from lands like Septimania and Provence which would remind them of the former rule and the former exploits of men of their own creed? Nîmes and Narbonne in Christian hands, Arles and Avignon safe against Mussulman attack, would hardly be pleasant sights for the Caliph's envoys, even though each of them was, in the hands of the Infidel, a stronghold against the western Mussulman enemy at Cordova.

The turbaned envoys were thus sent to spend two months by the Mosel, while the King pressed on to the Charente and the Garonne. It would seem that with Pippin's march Waifar sank at once from a territorial prince to a hunted fugitive. The dominions which the former campaigns had left to him, took in at the outside the lands of Bordeaux, Saintes, and Poitiers. It is remarkable that of the first and last of these three cities we hear nothing directly. We learn from documentary evidence, what we might have otherwise inferred, that Poitiers was in Pippin's possession before the July of this year [2]. But the cities themselves are not mentioned in the story, and it is quite possible that Poitiers may have submitted long before [3]. The central city of the three,

Sarracenorum miserat, post tres annos ad Massiliam reversi fuissent, legationem prædicti Amormuni regis Sarracenorum ad prædictum regem cum multis muneribus secum adduxerant."

[1] "Quod cum compertum regi fuisset, missos suos ad eam direxit, qui ipsam legationem venerabiliter reciperent, et usque ad Mettis civitatem ad hiemandum ducerent."

[2] See Sickel, ii. 8. We shall come to this again.

[3] Poitiers is (see above, p. 245) among the fortresses slighted by Waifar and restored by Pippin; but the restoration may be at any time up to Pippin's death.

the city of the Santones, was chosen by the King for his headquarters in those parts. Saintes then held a far higher position than it has done in later times, since La Rochelle, glorious in more modern struggles, but unknown in the wars of Pippin and Waifar, supplanted it as the seat of both civil and ecclesiastical rule. The most striking monuments of Saintes, the three great churches, all, as usual, date in their present forms from days later than Pippin. But some things are still there which were there in his day. We may ask whether the walls which Waifar had slighted and which Pippin now strengthened again were the Roman circuit on the higher ground or the later one coming down close to the Charente. The amphitheatre, more perfect than it is now, doubtless looked up at an earlier church of Saint Eutropius, and the house hard by which hides a Roman dwelling in its lower stages may then have had more visible signs to show of its age and story[1]. In any case Pippin, advancing from the east, made his way into the city by the Roman bridge which is now swept away, and saw the arch of Germanicus standing in its own place. At Saintes captives began to be brought in, but not as yet the head of all. The mother, the sister, and the nieces of Waifar, were first led to the King[2]. Then came the prisoner most precious of all save one. The officers who were sent to the chase of Remistan had done their work well and faithfully, and God, it was believed, had helped them to do vengeance on the traitor. The rebel lord of Argenton was brought bound to the King at Saintes, and his wife with him[3].

[1] A house not far from the amphitheatre is built on the remains of a Roman building which was most likely in some way connected with it. Its solid brick walls have been dug into to make beds and for domestic purposes, which has suggested the thought that it was occupied as a place of shelter in the invasion of 407.

[2] Ann. Laur. 768. This is not mentioned in Cont. Fred.

[3] Cont. Fred. ; "Suprascripti comites qui ad Remistanum capiendum missi fuerant per divinum judicium et fidem regis eum capiunt, et ligatum ad præsentiam regis cum uxore sua adduxerunt."

We see how deeply the wrath of Pippin must have been stirred by the treason of Remistan, when the King, commonly so chary of human blood, not only at once ordered the death of Remistan, but bade him die on the gallows, commonly the punishment of men of lower degree. The two officers who brought him in, Humbert and another Giselar by name, who are both spoken of as Counts of Bourges, were given in charge to see the end of him[1]. The King then set out to seek for Waifar. He reached the Garonne at an unknown point, but does not seem to have crossed the river[2]. This march, we may suppose, involved the submission of Bordeaux, if it had not already acknowledged Pippin; it is strange that there is no direct mention of so great a city. The Aquitanian war was over. To the King's quarters on the Garonne men pressed from all parts of Waifar's dominions, to submit to Pippin, to make oaths and give hostages for their faith to him and to his sons Charles and Karlmann all their days. Even the true Gascons, the men beyond the Garonne, members of the most unconquerable race in Europe, came in and submitted to the victorious Frank, whose dominion they had cast away so long[3]. They are spoken of in our story in so casual a way that we are apt to forget that Gascony formed a separate duchy from Aquitaine. Of Lupus, Duke of the Gascons, we shall hear more distinctly a little later; during the present story he is nowhere

[1] "Quem statim rex Uniberto et Ghiselario comitibus Betoricæ civitatis ipsum Remistanum in patibulo suspendi jussit."

[2] Cont. Fred. says only that Pippin "usque ad Garonnam accessit." Ann. Laur. add, "Inde perrexit in locum dicitur Montis." Einhard leaves out the name, but he clearly took it to be on the Garonne. But no such place can be found on the Garonne, though there are two or three places, one in Saintonge, with kindred names, but too far either north or south. [Possibly one of the places named "Puy."]

[3] Ib. "Wascones qui ultra Garonnam commorantur ad ejus præsentiam venerunt, et sacramenta et obsides prædicto regi donant, ut semper fideles partibus regis et filiis suis Carolo et Carlomanno omni tempore esse debeant."

personally mentioned. But we may assume that this general submission of his people was not against his will, and the belief falls in with his conduct next year. All who came in, whether subjects of Lupus or of Waifar, were graciously received[1]. Among them was one whose name is given as Herowicus and who brought with him another sister of Waifar[2]. Was he another kinsman who had turned against him, and is this to be taken as the submission of a married pair? Or was Herowicus, of whatever nation he might be, simply bringing in as a prisoner one who, if left at large, might be dangerous? The legendary genealogy of Waifar's house is rich, but we know so little of his real kindred, of his sisters or any other, that we cannot answer the question. In any case no one as yet brought in Waifar himself; nor did any one think of disturbing the holy repose of the island monastery where Waifar's father still kept himself in peace for a season, though not for ever[3]. The submission was general on both sides of the Garonne; but there was of course this difference between Gascony and Aquitaine in the strict sense of those two names. The duchy of Waifar came to an end, and his subjects became immediate subjects of the King of the Franks, as much as the men of Austria, Neustria, and Burgundy; while, beyond the Garonne, Lupus still kept his dominions, though they passed under the overlordship of the Frank.

Aquitaine was conquered. The Frankish king, first of his house, was overlord of all Gaul; he was immediate sovereign of all save the Breton and the Gascon corners. There remained only to get possession of the man who

[1] "Rex Pippinus benigniter eos in suam ditionem recepit."

[2] "Herowicus veniens cum illa alia sorore Waipharii ducis," is all that Ann. Laur., not very grammatically, gives us. Einhard, 768, improves this into "Erowicus cum alia prædicti ducis sorore occurrit . . . seque et illam regi tradidit." This almost looks as if she were his wife. Of the women of the ducal house who were brought in earlier he also adds, "quas cum pie susceptas servari jussisset."

[3] See above, p. 74.

had so lately been Duke of Aquitaine, and who, if he were allowed to remain at large, might one day again make Aquitaine revolt against its new master. But the further pursuit of Waifar on the King's own part was put off till after the Easter feast. He was known to be lurking in various hiding-places among the woods of Périgord, most likely in the holes of the rocks[1]. The King, we are told, laid snares for him, as he had before laid snares for Remistan; parties were sent to look after him while Pippin went to keep the feast with the Queen at Selles[2]. Thence messengers were sent to Metz, to bid the Caliph's Saracen envoys to the royal presence. They came; they gave the King the gifts of their master; they received gifts from him in return; they were led back to Marseilles with all worship and there they took ship for their own land[3]. Thus much we are carefully told; but of any discourses with the King, of any letters or messages exchanged between King and Caliph, of any details or any results of this first story of formal diplomatic intercession between Western Europe and the Mussulman East, of all this we hear never a word.

When his religious and diplomatic duties at Selles were over, the King again gave himself to the chase after Waifar. As the first step, he went back with great speed to Saintes, this time taking the Queen with him[4]. We are told that Waifar, when he heard this, turned his back after his usual fashion[5]. This looks as if, emboldened by

[1] Cont. Fred. 134; "Waifarius cum paucis per silvam quæ vocatur Edebola, in pago Petrocorreco latitans, huc illucque vagatur incertus."

[2] Ib.; "Ad Waifarium capiendum insidias iterum parat."

[3] Ib.; "Ipsi Sarraceni munera quæ Amormuni transmiserat, ibidem præsentant. Iterum rex ipsis Sarracenis qui ad ipsum missi fuerunt munera dedit." Whether he sent any gifts to the Caliph is not clear.

[4] Ib. 135; "Præcelsus rex Pippinus iterum de Sellus castro cum paucis ad persequendum Waifarium eo anno iterum perrexit, et usque ad Sanctonis mira celeritate primus cum paucis venit." The presence of the Queen comes from Ann. Laur.

[5] "Cum hoc Waifarius audisset, solito more terga vertit."

the King's absence, the hunted Duke had ventured to leave his hiding-place, perhaps even to enjoy a little harrying of the lands which had now become another's[1]. In any case he was soon again in his Petragorian lurking-places, but with four chosen bands after him, one of them under the King's own command[2]. Bertrada—perhaps accompanied by her sons—abode at Saintes, while her husband went forth to his last enterprise[3]. Early in June all was over; Waifar was killed by his own men, among whom the name of one of them, Waratho, is preserved. Our thoughts naturally fly off to the like death of another hunted prince in our own history, to the death of Gruffydd son of Llywelyn in the great Welsh campaign of Harold[4]. Gruffydd, like Waifar, was slain by his own men; but no trustworthy writer hints that Harold had any hand in his death, while our best Frankish narrative mentions a rumour, though only a rumour, that Waifar did die by the practice of Pippin[5]. It is the mention of a rumour, as implying some kind of underhand dealing, which makes the hint so unsatisfactory. Waifar was not exactly a double traitor, like Remistan; but he was more than an ordinary enemy or even an ordinary rebel. He had

[1] Ann. Laur. Min. have one of those fuller accounts which they give now and then; "Pippinus omnem Aquitaniam peragendo sue dicioni subdit, nec tamen ut voluit Waifarium capit, sed ille semper *vastationi* et fugæ intentus."

[2] Cont. Fred. 135; "Rex Pippinus in quatuor partes comites suos *scaritos* et leudes suos ad persequendum Waifarium transmisit."

[3] So Ann. Laur.; "Ibi domna Bertradana regina cum familia dimisit et partibus Petrogorigo perrexit." "Familia" may mean almost anything. One is tempted to ask where Charles and Karlmann were, as we have heard nothing of them lately.

[4] See N. C. ii. p. 482.

[5] Ann. Laur. say simply "interempto Waipharío"; so Einhard, "interfecto igitur duce Waifario in territorio Petragorico." The small annals also say simply "interfectus est," or words to that effect. Ann. Laur. Min. say "donec dolo Warathonis peremptus et fugæ et tyrannidi finem dedit." The Continuator alone says, "Dum hæc agerentur, ut asserunt, consilio regis factum, Waifarius princeps Aquitaniæ a suis interfectus est."

made the most solemn oaths of submission to the King and had at once broken them in the most offensive sort[1]. The general mildness of Pippin makes us amazed at the fate even of Remistan; otherwise there would be nothing wonderful in a proclamation for bringing in the body of Waifar alive or dead; there would be nothing wonderful in the passing of what we might call a bill of attainder against him such as in our own history was passed against another Welsh prince, some years before the fall of Gruffydd[2]. But the hint of secret practice is ugly. Pippin's character has thus far been unstained by either treachery or harshness; and we could wish that the last act of his long warfare had been handed down to us in some other shape.

After Waifar's death the last gleanings of Aquitanian submission were gathered in. All now passed under Frankish rule, after the manner of old times, as the Frankish historian significantly adds[3]. How are we to estimate the result of the war? What judgement are we to pass upon the actors in it? It is eminently one of those cases in which those who played a part on either side would feel themselves abundantly justified in the part which they played. For the men of Aquitaine, withstanding Frankish invasion, we must feel the sympathy which we must ever feel for any people defending their own land against strangers. Thus much we may safely say, though we have no Aquitanian annals to tell the tale from the side of the vanquished; all that we know comes from the records of the conquering Frank. Of the Aquitanian leader we can hardly form any distinct idea. We are puzzled at the small part which he personally plays in the long struggle; only once do we hear of Waifar leading his

[1] See above, p. 235.

[2] In the case of Rhys. See N. C. ii. 355.

[3] Cont. Fred.; "Jam tota Aquitania acquisita, omnes ad eum venientes ditionis suæ, *sicut antiquitus fuerunt*, se faciunt."

men to the battle or the siege, a marked contrast to the unflagging energy of Pippin, going forth to the war year after year. Yet, to have borne up so long and seemingly to have carried the hearts of his people with him as long as there was the faintest glimmering of hope, Waifar must have had some greater qualities than we can see on the surface of narratives written by his enemies. By his fall and the Frankish conquest of Aquitaine a heavy blow was dealt at the growth of the rising nationality of Southern Gaul, a nationality in itself as much entitled to a separate being as those of France, Spain, or Italy. A people who, it would seem, still held themselves for Romans [1], were again, just as in the days of Chlodowig, brought under the rule of Teutonic conquerors. Not that the national life of Aquitaine was wholly crushed out; that was not likely to be the result of such a conquest as that wrought by Pippin. There not only was a new attempt at revolt the very next year, but Aquitaine became for the first time a kingdom under the house of its conqueror; it became again practically independent in the shape of a great duchy; its fates became strangely entangled with those of England, and an English earl, fighting in the same cause as Waifar, was the last champion of its independence. To this day the land is not French; it is a deep saying that there are "no Frenchmen south of Loire," and on the stream by Périgueux, between the temple of Vesona and the camp of Cæsar on the height, men may be still heard speaking the Romance tongue of Aquitaine and freely confessing that French—of Paris or rather of Tours—is to them unknown. But, as I have before hinted, Southern Gaul has ever been politically divided; Aquitaine and Burgundy have never formed a political whole. They were now again brought under the rule of the same sovereign; but it was as distinct parts of his dominions. And when both lands again became practically independent, it was independence without union.

[1] See above, p. 16; and we shall find them Romans again directly.

On the other hand, while we sympathize with the patriotic struggle of the Duke and the men of Aquitaine, it is no less easy to put ourselves into the position of the King of the Franks and of the men who followed him. It was as natural for Pippin to strive to win back Aquitaine as it was for Justinian to strive to win back Africa, Italy, and Spain. In his view it was equally a case of winning back. Aquitaine was a lost part of the Frankish dominions. It was a special conquest of Chlodowig, a land which the Catholic champion had won from the Arian Goth. For several generations it had been an undoubted part of the Merwing realm, parted out among kings of the Merwing house no less than Austria and Neustria. If it had been lost to the Frankish dominion among the course of events which led to the rise of Pippin's own house[1], that made it yet more the duty of the first king of that house to win back the lost possession. And if either the whole Frankish dominion or Gaul as a part of it was to have any geographical unity, it was altogether needful to win back so great a part of the Gaulish land stretching so far into the centre of the Frankish possessions. This geographical need had been strengthened since the recovery of Burgundy and the addition of Septimania. A dominion which took in only Francia, the Francia of Northern Gaul and the Francia of Central Germany, might possibly have done without Aquitaine. But the Frankish kingdom of Pippin had far outstripped those bounds; a king who had subjects on the Rhone, vassals on the Ebro, and—shall we say subjects, allies, or fellow-citizens? on the Tiber, could not leave the Loire and the Garonne in the hands of a power, foreign and ever likely to be hostile. Pippin's conduct at the first submission of Waifar shows that he might possibly have been contented with the vassalage of Aquitaine. After his faithless falling away, that thought was no longer heard of; the dangerous land must be fully incorporated with the Frankish realm. How fully this had become

[1] See above, p. 56.

Pippin's chief object we see by his dealings with Bavaria. When Tassilo had turned against him as well as Waifar, when he found that he could not wage war against both at once, he simply left Bavaria alone, at any rate till Aquitaine had been subdued. That was his main work as a Frankish king, looking directly to the interests and greatness of his Frankish dominion. His Italian dealings stand out more conspicuously in the history of the world; but it is the recovery of Aquitaine which comes foremost in the history of his own realm and people. To that he gave his whole heart and strength, while, after his two Lombard campaigns, he could never be led again to take an active part in the affairs of Italy. Pippin was as distinctly and pre-eminently the conqueror of Aquitaine as Charles was the conqueror of Saxony, and it was [greatly] as such that he lived in the memory of his people[1].

But it was not only as the conqueror of Aquitaine, but also as its lawgiver, that Pippin was remembered. His painted form in the palace at Ingelheim stood between Charles his father, conqueror of the Frisians, and Charles his Imperial son, conqueror of the Saxons. But Pippin alone was painted as in some sort the deliverer of those whom he subdued, as not only joining them to his kingdom by his sword, but as giving them laws, we might almost put it as giving them back their ancient rights[2]. The conqueror was not long to enjoy his conquest; soon after he came back in triumph to Saintes he began to sicken of

[1] The Italian campaigns of Pippin seem to have left traces in the Chansons de Geste as well as his other exploits, often in very metamorphosed form.

[2] See above, p. 228. The passage in Ermoldus Nigellus (275, Pertz, ii. 506) in which the three generations are brought together stands thus;

"Hinc Carolus primus Frisonum Marte magister
Pingitur, et secum grandia gesta manus.
Hinc, Pippine, micas, *Aquitanis jura remittens*,
Et regno socius, Marte favente, tuo.

fever[1]. But he had already gathered the Frankish chiefs and people together in the newly won city[2]; and it was in that assembly, as all but the last act of his life, that he stood forth as the lawgiver of Aquitaine[3]. His Aquitanian code is short and pithy; of its provisions as a contribution to the general body of Frankish jurisprudence we may have to speak elsewhere. We have here to deal with it as showing how fully Pippin looked on the conquered land as having, when it was once conquered, passed under his rule and protection, and how fully minded he was to do justice to his new subjects as well as to the old. Churches were to be restored, seemingly both in their fabrics and in their property[4]; not a few, as we have seen, had suffered during Pippin's own wasting marches[5]. Other provisions follow for the poor, for the peace of the land, for the subject's right to petition the prince[6]. Each man is to keep the law of his own people, and the memory of the Goth, still so

Et Carolus sapiens vultus prætendit apertos,
Fertque coronatum stemmate rite caput;
Hinc Saxona cohors contra stat, prœlia temptat,
Ille ferit, domitat, *ad sua jura trahit.*"

The dealings of Pippin with Aquitaine and those of Charles with Saxony stand here in distinct contrast.

[1] Cont. Fred. 135; "Cum magno triumpho et victoria Sanctonis, ubi Bertrada regina residebat, venit." Ann. Laur. also speak of the "triumphus victoriæ"; not so Einhard. He "ægrotare cœpit," "ægritudine decubuit." They do not mention the assembly.

[2] The Continuator brings all that happened at Saintes into one sentence, 136; "Dum Sanctonis præfatus rex venisset, et causas pro salute patriæ et utilitate Francorum [the formula of the summons] tractaret, a quadam fabre vexatus ægrotare cœpit, comites suos et judices ibidem constituit."

[3] The "Capitulare Aquitanicum" of Pippin is printed in Pertz, Legg. ii. 13. The word Aquitaine is not found in it, but it is shown to be what it is by the reference to it in the "Capitulare Missorum Aquitanorum" of Charles in the next page.

[4] "Ut illas eclesias Dei qui deserti sunt, restaurentur, tam episcopi quam abates, vel illi laici homines qui exinde benefitium habent."

[5] See above, p. 246.

[6] "8. Si aliquis homo ante nos se reclamaverit, licenciam habeat ad nos venire, et nullus eum per fortia detineat."

flourishing in Septimania, has so utterly passed away in Aquitaine that the only laws known are those of the Roman and the Salian Frank[1]. By the law of the Roman we are of course not to understand the code of Theodosius in all its minuteness; the provision simply means that the Romans of Aquitaine—they knew no other name—should, like the Goths of Narbonne[2], keep the laws and usages to which they were accustomed. But the Roman and the Salian are the only nations whose law is entitled to this regard; men coming from any other province must conform to the law of the land in which they chose to dwell. The code, it would seem, was drawn up after a conference between the commissioners of the Kings and some of the chief men of Aquitaine. What they had agreed on all men were to obey[3]. To carry out his laws and to provide for the administration of his new dominions the King left counts and judges behind him[4]. Within a month after the death of Waifar, Aquitaine was—so at least its sick conqueror hoped—a settled member of the Frankish dominions. In the language of loyal Franks, the tyranny of Waifar was overpassed, and the rule of right and law had begun again[5].

§ 8. *Pippin's last days and death.*

A. D. 768.

[Of the embassies of the emperor, and the division of the realm by Pippin between his sons, and of his death, there was something to be written; but it was not put on paper.]

[1] "10. Ut omnes homines eorum leges habeant, tam Romani quam et Salici, et si de alia provincia advenerit, secundum legem ipsius patriæ vivat."

[2] See above, p. 228.

[3] "11. Ut quicquid missi nostri cum illis senioribus patriæ ad nostrum profectum vel sanctæ ecclesiæ melius consciverint, nullus contendere hoc præsumat."

[4] See note 3 above.

[5] On the "tyranny" of Waifar see above, p. 254. It a little reminds us of William of Malmesbury's application of the word.

Introduction to Chapter IV.

The Deposition of Charles and Election of Arnulf.

887–888

And now the day was drawing near which was to part asunder for ever the great Frankish dominion which had grown to be, on the mainland of Europe, all but coextensive with Western Christendom. By a strange irony of fate Charles of Swabia had gathered together all the scattered crowns of his house, and well nigh all the scattered lands. They were now to fall asunder again as in a moment. The event was nothing wonderful. The cause was simply the natural tendency of the several kingdoms to part asunder, specially when they were held together by no firmer grasp than that of the Emperor Charles. Still every event has its immediate occasion which determines that what is sure to happen at some time and place shall happen in this or that particular time and place. According to one version that immediate occasion was supplied by the revenge of the late Chancellor Liudward for the loss of his honours. He it was who made his way to Arnulf in Bavaria, and suggested to him to rebel against his uncle and to supplant him[1]. If Liudward was the counsellor, he found an apt pupil in Arnulf, and Arnulf found the whole extent of the Eastern lands, save only Charles's own Swabia, fully ready to accept him. The Emperor had summoned a general assembly of the Empire to come together at Tribur. Men came together only to see the weakness of body and mind into which their sovereign had fallen[2]. Such as Augustus was not the man to keep his Empire together

[1] Ann. Fuld. iv. 887; "Ille in Baioariam ad Arnulfum se contulit, et cum eo machinari studuit, qualiter imperatorem regno privaret."

[2] Ann. Fuld. v. 887; "Mox vero Cæsar gravissima infirmitate detentus est." Ann. Ved. 887; "Videntes imperatoris vires ad regendum imperium invalidas." Regino, 887; "Imperator corpore et animo cœpit ægrotare . . . cernentes optimates regni, non modo vires corporis verum etiam animi sensus ab eo diffugere."

even in peaceful times; much less when the Northmen were marching and ravaging at pleasure through both Eastern and Western realms. Not only to the revengeful Liudward, not only to the ambitious Arnulf, but to the whole body of the assembled nobles and warriors, it became plain that the reigning Emperor must be set aside, and some one put in his place who could better meet the needs of the time. As for the choice of a successor, if the selection was to be made within the Karolingian house, the stock of available candidates was not large. Of the male line of Charles the Great, the joint line of the Pippins and of the holy Arnulf, there was not one against the lawfulness of whose birth some objection could not be made. Of Charles and Richildis there was no offspring; the only surviving child of the reigning Emperor was the illegitimate Bernhard of a nameless mother. His father is said to have designed him for his successor[1]; he was at present in attendance on him in his forlorn state, and he could hardly be asked to rebel against him. The Western realm had a Charles of its own, one day to be its king. But the son of Lewis and Adelheid was of doubtful legitimacy, and in no case was a child of three years old likely to be looked on with favour by electors to a kingdom in such an hour of danger. The Eastern realm had a far more promising candidate in the Duke of Carinthia. Arnulf, bastard as he was, was the valiant son of a valiant father, and it seems to have told in his favour that he bore none of the names which late events had discredited, but that he had been called of set purpose after the canonized patriarch of his house[2]. To men seeking for a king, the

[1] Ann. Fuld. iv. 885; "Voluit, ut fama vulgabat . . . Bernhartum, filium suum ex concubina, hæredem regni post se constituere."

[2] The Saxon Poet (v. 125) first sings the praises of Saint Arnulf, and then goes on;

"Indeque nostrorum totam seriem dominorum,
Stirpem nempe suam, protegit atque fovet;
Præ cunctis igitur tibi cura nepotibus una,
Quæsumus, Arnulfus sit tuus omonimus," &c.

So again, v. 415 et seqq.

news that the one possible king was actually on his march at the head of the forces of his own quarter of the realm was welcome tidings. Arnulf was bringing with him the forces of Carinthia, German and Slavonic[1]. He and his army reached Frankfurt; but they found no man to fight against them. There they were met by the great body of those who had come together at Tribur[2]. They had come together for an assembly to discuss the affairs of the Empire, and discuss them they did, though not under the presidency of the Emperor. The people of the Franks asserted for themselves that ancient right which Teutonic assemblies on both sides of the sea held to be their own. Pope Zachary had solved the great ease of conscience a hundred and thirty years before. A King of the Franks who showed himself unfit for the discharge of his kingly office might be set aside by the national will in favour of a worthier successor. And that right could not be taken away by the fact that since that day the King of the Franks had risen to the loftier style of Emperor of the Romans. Whether an emperor who had ceased to be king would still remain Cæsar and Augustus without national following or territorial possessions, was a subtlety not to be entered into at such a moment, and the question was presently solved by the course of events. The business of the moment was to set aside an incapable king and to supply his place by a capable one. As the Franks had set aside Childeric and chosen Pippin, they now set aside Charles and chose Arnulf. And, if the thought came into their heads, they might have argued that so to do was no breach of the solemn command laid on them on the day of

[1] Ann. Fuld. iv. 887; "Cum idem imperator in villa Tribura consedisset, suorum undique opperiens adventum, Arnulfus cum manu valida Noricorum et Salavorum supervenit et ei molestus efficitur."

[2] Charles was clearly at Tribur, as appears from the last note. The other Fulda Annals say, "Veniente Karolo imperatore Franconofurt, isti invitaverunt Arnolfum," and go on to describe his election. Regino too makes Charles summon the assembly at Tribur.

Pippin's crowning[1]. They were never to choose a king save of the line of Pippin. Arnulf came of the male stock of that line; if he came not of it according to the strict laws of the Church, there was no other who could make a better formal claim. And yet more undoubtedly there was no man so likely to keep the Frankish power together and to defend it against its many enemies.

Arnulf then, bastard of Karlmann, was chosen king. But to what kingdom was he chosen and who were the electors who made the choice? Our most minute account speaks of a conspiracy on the part of the Franks, Saxons, and Thuringians, in words implying that among them the falling away from the Emperor was universal, while it is attributed to part only of the Bavarians and of the Alemans or Swabians[2]. It seems plain that Swabia, as a whole, clave to its own prince; the alleged partial character of the movement among the Bavarians is more to be noticed. All, it would seem, were not with Arnulf. But what concerns us more is that the movement seems to be wholly a movement within the Eastern kingdom. The Franks spoken of in a list so purely German can hardly take in those of the West. The chance is that, in a meeting at Tribur, few, if any, representatives of the other Karolingian kingdoms were present. The deposition of Charles, the election of Arnulf, were clearly acts of the Eastern kingdom only. In the lack of strictly formal titles, in the lax use of popular descriptions, Arnulf could become King of the Franks, without its being rigidly defined whether his dominion was to take in the whole possessions of Charles the Great or to be confined to the Eastern kingdom only. The purpose of

[1] See p. 98.

[2] Regino says simply "optimates regni," meaning doubtless the Eastern kingdom. In Ann. Ved. it is "Franci *australes*," meaning of course *orientales*, Franks of *Austria*. One set of Fulda Annals has generally "Omnes optimates Francorum qui contra imperatorem conspiraverant." The others define them, "Franci et more solito Saxones et Thuringi quibusdam Baioariorum primoribus et Alamannorum admixtis."

Arnulf and his followers doubtless was that the new King of the Franks was to be King of the Eastern Franks, come what would. As for the other kingdoms, it might be wise, before trying either war or negotiation, to wait and see what course they took of themselves.

For a moment it was not clear whether even the Eastern kingdom would pass into the hands of Arnulf without a blow being struck on behalf of Charles. The first thought of the Emperor, when he heard of his deposition and the election of his nephew, was to appeal to arms. His faithful Swabians at least, he thought, would stand by him. Scorned as he might be by the rest of the world, to them he was a native and cherished prince. So in after times another Augustus of his own name, despised by the rest of the world, was the beloved and native king of his Bohemian kingdom. He may even have indulged in dreams that the men of his other kingdoms, who had had no share in the act of the Eastern Franks, might come to his help. But not a man came from beyond the Alps or the Rhine to do aught for the prince whom the Eastern lands had cast aside. Even his own Swabians did not dare to risk an armed struggle against the force of all the other German lands[1]. Not a sword was drawn, not a voice was raised, on behalf of the fallen Augustus. For three days he stayed at Tribur, almost without attendants, dependent for meat and drink on the bounty of Archbishop Liudberht[2]. He then gave up all hope; he submitted to his fate and acknowledged the accession of the new king. He sent two messengers to Arnulf. One was the Archbishop, charged to carry to him the piece of the true cross on which Arnulf had once sworn to Charles, and calling on him, for the reverence due to the holy word, to forbear from a harshness of dealing to a man whom he had once acknowledged as his

[1] Ann. Fuld. v. 887; "Karolus nitens bellum contra Arnolfum regem instaurare, sed non proficit, concussis timore Alamannis, quibus maxime negotium sui regni habebat commissum."

[2] Ann. Fuld. iv.

lord which was worthy of barbarians only[1]. With him or after him went Charles's bastard son Bernhard, praying the new king to leave to him some lands in his own Swabia for his maintenance[2]. Arnulf is said to have wept at hearing the message; he granted to his uncle some Alamannian estates for his nourishment[3]. It was not long that he held them. The Emperor, as he is still called[4], went to take possession of all that was left to him. But only a few days of the new year had passed when his life came to an end as well as his reign (January 12 or 13, 888). Sickness and grief are quite enough to account for the death of the feeble and forlorn man, though he had not yet lived out half a century. There is no need to think that any treason was needed to cut short so frail a life[5]. He died at Nordingen on the Danube, and was buried before the altar of Our Lady in the minster of Reichenau. He is sent out of the world with many blessings and charitable hopes, won for him, not only by his bounty to the Church, but by much that was good and kindly in his personal character[6]. As a private man, perhaps even as a Duke of Alamannia in peaceful times, he might have been beloved and respected, if not honoured. Placed on the throne of the mighty forefather between whom and him two intermediate generations are all that we have to

[1] Ann. Fuld. iv; "At sacramentorum suorum non immemor, tam ferociter et barbare contra eum non fecerat." Cf. one version of the Annales Alamannici (Pertz, i. 52); "Karolus imperator regno terrestri privatus. Arnolfus immanissimus rex elevatur."

[2] Both Fulda Annals mention the message. iv record the sending of the cross by Liudberht. Regino mentions the mission of Bernhard. The Annals of Hildesheim (Pertz, 50) say distinctly "Karolus subicit se Arnulfo"; but it is only in the next year that they say "Arnulfus rex electus."

[3] The tears are in Ann. Fuld. iv, the grant in v and in Regino.

[4] He is in a marked way "imperator" in iv, while in v Arnulf is in an equally marked way "rex."

[5] So hinted in Ann. Ved., "fertur a suis strangulatus."

[6] "In brevi finivit vitam præsentem, possessurus cælestem, ut credimus" say Ann. Ved., 887.

reckon, he brought on himself only the scorn of the many kingdoms which he brought together for a moment only to part asunder for ever. It may be well to stop and reckon the years between this unhappy prince and the greatest of his predecessors and successors. When the third Charles was put aside, they must have been aged men indeed who could remember the Imperial crowning of Charles the Great; but a few such may still have lingered. Not a few may have remembered the day when the great and orthodox Emperor was carried to his grave at Aachen. And a few who were children old enough to remember the falling away at Frankfurt and the burial at Reichenau, may have lived to hear how a Saxon duke and German king brought back the diadem of Rome to the German folk.

The East-Franks had at least made them a king of the stock, if not of the legitimate stock, of Charles and Pippin and the elder Arnulf. The other kingdoms felt themselves under no necessity either to follow the choice of the East or to seek for other Karlings among themselves. One chronicler, who must have looked on the brightest side of his own age, says that there were in those days so many men worthy to rule, that the difficulty in each kingdom was to know which to choose[1]. But there was none who was so undoubtedly the heir by birth, none who was so conspicuously the first in merit, as to make all the kingdoms unite in looking to him as the born leader of them all[1]. And since the genius of the Great Charles and the magic of the Imperial tradition had brought together so many nations and languages to form a single whole, the dim feeling of nationality, the sense of difference in blood and speech, had grown by many steps. The Eastern and the Western Franks were beginning to feel that, though they still bore one name, they were no longer one people. One dwelled in the land of his forefathers, and spoke the tongue of his forefathers; the other had

[1] Regino, 888; "Non quia principes Francorum ducunt," &c., &c.

found himself a home in the cities and lands of the Roman, and had learned to shape his lips to the Roman speech. The feeling of disunion is ever stronger than the feeling of union; but while the East and West-Franks were becoming alive to the distinction which had grown up between them, the East-Frank was beginning to learn that he had something in common with the Bavarian, the Swabian, and the Saxon, which he no longer had in common with the Frank of the West. The thought of common German nationality had not yet put on any formal shape; but when the mass of the German lands, and none but the German lands, united in the choice of Arnulf, a German nation is beginning to show itself in a visible and practical form. A writer of a somewhat later time marks the result well and tersely; a division was made between the Teutonic and the Latin Franks[1]. But the diversities of race and speech within the Empire which was falling asunder were far too great for a simple twofold division to satisfy the needs or the feelings of the time. Indeed, we must remember that the Provençal kingdom, cut off from the Empire by Boso, still kept up some form of separate being under his son Lewis. Adopted son of the Emperor, his princely power was cut sadly short by invading Saracens and rebellious nobles; but the range of his father was sign enough that the Empire might be divided according to some other rule than partition among members of the Karolingian house. Each land, a Western annalist tells us, sought to have a king sprung from its own bowels. A loyal subject of the Eastern king tells how many under-kings—sometimes he calls them tyrants—arose in Europe, defining Europe, it would seem, to mean the lands of the Western Empire. But we need not go beyond sea for a living picture of the doings beyond sea. The English Chronicler, who had to mark the comings and goings of the Northmen on both sides of the Channel, kept a keen eye on the changes of the mainland. Thus he tells his tale in our own tongue (A.-S. Chron. dccclxxxviii);

"That ilk year died Carl, King of the Franks. And

Earnulf his brother's son six weeks before he died put him out of the kingdom. And then was the kingdom *todealed* into five, so that five kings were hallowed. Yet was that done with Earnulf's þafung, and they said that they would hold it at his hands, for that none of them was born to it on the father's half but him only. Then Earnulf dwelled on the land by east of Rhine; and Hrothulf then took to the middle kingdom, and Odda to the west deal, and Beorngár and Wido to the Lombards' land, and to the lands beyond the mountain. And that they held with mickle unsib, and two folkfights fought, and the land oft and gelome harried, and each other oft times drave out."

It was the open warfare between the rival kings in Italy that most struck the mind of our keen-eyed countryman. He did not stop to notice that Odda did not take to the "west deal" without some opposition from the same Wido who fought with Beorngár beyond the mountain. But that there was a "west deal" and that Odda took to it is one of the great facts of European history. With it we reach the last stage of the long abode of the German kings in Gaul. The Teutonic and the Latin Franks are parted asunder and the Latin Franks have chosen them a king, who, though possibly himself of German blood, was chosen as the representative of the Latin against the Teutonic *Francia*. It may well be that no such object was professed in any formal shape; but the fact was so none the less. We have come to the beginnings of the modern French kingdom and the modern French nation. We have come to the beginning of the abiding greatness of Paris. The city in the island of the Seine has had the headship of Gaul many times dangled before her eyes. By her deserts in the great siege she has shown herself worthy of it; she now puts forth her hand, if not to grasp that headship in its fulness, yet at least to take firm hold of something which could not fail

to grow into headship. The Latin Franks have chosen them a king of Latin speech, and his royal seat is in the old home of Julian, the first among the royal seats of the house of Chlodowig. He is chosen but for a moment; his throne is set up but for a moment; and yet the king is chosen, the throne is set up, we might almost say for ever. A hundred years of struggle are to come between the old line and the new. The sons of Charles and the sons of Robert are to supplant one another on the throne of the Latin *Francia*. But it is all the while clear which is the rising and which is the setting light, which must increase and which must decrease. Four Karlings have still to reign; but the day of the Karlings is over. After the first generation of real struggle they reign only because a mighty vassal deems himself safer without a crown upon his head, or because a mighty neighbour is led by the ties of kindred or by the common fellowship of kings to stretch forth a hand to prop the tottering throne. The parting of the Western *Francia* from the Eastern marks the coming into being of a new nation. But that nation is not represented by the foreign king shut up in a single fortress in a corner of his realm, but by the native duke who shares his title and who dwells in the sight of all men in the central city on the central river. For a while it seemed as if the newly chosen house, the newly chosen capital, were destined to better luck under the lower than under the loftier style. The reigns of the first two kings of Paris were short and stormy. The two dukes who came after them waxed quiet and prosperous. The time at last came when the duke was again to grow into a king, and the work of the century was done.

IV.

THE STRIFE OF PARIS AND LAON.

A. D. 888–987.

§ 1. *Karolingia.*

NEVER could a great dominion be so strictly said to fall in pieces, as if it had been by the operation of a physical law, as when a crowd of kings and kingdoms suddenly came into being after the deposition of the Emperor Charles. The various partitions of the Empire among members of the Imperial house had caused certain territorial divisions, answering more or less roughly to national distinctions, to put on a certain measure of separate being. It seems to be silently taken for granted that each of these divisions may act for itself and choose a king for itself. No part of the Empire seems to disturb any other part in the exercise of this right. There is disputing and even fighting in more than one of the separate kingdoms which thus spring into life; but it is disputing and fighting within the kingdom to decide who shall be king of it; there is no sign of action on the part of any of the other kingdoms to hinder its neighbour's freedom of choice. And on the whole there is less disputing and fighting than might have been looked for. More than one king or claimant of kingship shows a praiseworthy discretion in withdrawing quietly from a struggle in which he saw that his chances of success were small. And as the right of separation is silently taken for granted, so the need of some measure of union among the separated kingdoms is silently taken

for granted also. The king first chosen, the one king of the kingly stock in the male line, receives a certain precedence among his fellows. He can hardly be said to assume it; it comes to him by a kind of natural selection. The other kings, by a kind of instinct, find it expedient to become the men of the Eastern king. Arnulf the Karling, lord of the German realm, not yet crowned Emperor, is felt to be the head king among the kings of the Franks. The other kingdoms are drawn towards his; his kingdom is not drawn towards any other. It is the beginning of that remarkable process which soon began, by which the separation was to a large extent undone, by which the German king was able to bring again together the more part of the kingdom which had been parted asunder. The "land by east of Rhine," "the middle kingdom," and "the Lombards' land," were not parted for ever. They came together again to form the three kingdoms which the Roman Emperor held, it is to be supposed, in fee of himself in his higher character. One only of the parted kingdoms was parted for ever. The "west deal" and "the land by east of Rhine" never again knew a common ruler till something like the reversal of the act of 888 from the Western side took place in the first years of the century in whose last years we are now living. Eastern and Western, Teutonic and Latin *Francia*, are now parted for all time. But they were not as yet so thoroughly parted but that the Western king found it suited his purpose to admit the external supremacy of the Eastern. And in the Western kingdom we find, in the very moment of separation, a disposition which we find nowhere else, to undo the act which had just been done and to call the King of the Eastern Franks to be King of the Western Franks also.

It will be well at this point once more to remember what the "West deal" of the English Chronicle, Karolingia, the Western kingdom, really was. It is something which was called into being by that one among the partitions

of the reign of Lewis the Pious which added Aquitaine to Neustria to make up a kingdom for Charles the Bald. That is to say, it is something much more than Latin *Francia*; it is something which, though it stretches beyond the bounds of Gaul, is much less than Gaul in any sense of that word. It does not exactly answer to any division of race or language. It is a land essentially of the Latin speech. Teutonic, Celtic, Iberian, are all spoken within its nominal borders; but, everywhere save in these three corners, the language of Karolingia is Roman. But it is far from taking in all the lands of the Roman speech. It not only has no concern with the Roman lands beyond the Alps; it has no concern with the Roman lands between the Alps and the Rhone. That is to say, of the great divisions into which the Romance lands parted themselves asunder, it took in the whole of one and part of another. It would be premature to say that it took in a nation and a half; for the nations had not yet grown into conscious being. But it took in the natural materials for one nation and part of the natural materials for another. It was a delicate, though perhaps unconscious, feeling of the real state of things which in Gaul confined the name of *Francia* to the lands north of Loire. There the Franks had really settled. They had not become the people of the land; they had yielded to the influences of the older day and had adopted the speech of their Roman subjects. But they had planted their own institutions in nearly their native fulness; and, even in matter of language, they had not adopted the Roman speech without bringing into it a far greater Teutonic infusion than might be thought at first sight. Latin *Francia* was rightly so called; it was truly a Latin land; but it was a Latin land with a difference; the Teutonic settlement had had so great an effect that it might pass for something intermediate between the unmixed Teutonic lands and the more purely Roman lands south of Loire. South of Loire, the Franks had for ages ruled or claimed to rule; but they had never

settled. The land is in no sense *Francia*; it never bears that name, save sometimes as part of that widest *Francia* of all which took in the whole dominions of Pippin and Charles. The Teutonic infusion was far slighter than in the lands north of Loire; and so much as there was of it was of a different kind; it came not of the Frank, but of the Goth and the Burgundian. Northern and southern Gaul had indeed nothing really in common beyond the old memories of Rome. Gaul south of Loire would seem to have in it as much the making of a distinct nation as northern Gaul or Italy or Spain. But the Burgundian settlement in the eastern part of the land, the abiding traditions of Burgundy as a separate kingdom, had parted the lands east and west of Rhone, and hindered them from ever joining together to form a national whole. In the various divisions, Aquitaine had sometimes been distinct, sometimes joined with Neustria; it had never been joined with Burgundy. There had never been a kingdom stretching from the Ocean to the Alps and from the Loire to the Pyrenees. It was Italy rather than Aquitaine to which Burgundy, at least its southern part, was drawn. Thus, from Charles the Bald onwards, the land that bore his name, *Karolingia, regnum Karolorum*, was understood to take in Latin *Francia* and Aquitaine, but not the lands between the Rhone and the Alps.

But if Aquitaine and Burgundy, in the widest sense of that name, never united to form a distinct whole, part of the original Burgundy shared the lot of Aquitaine and Neustria. South Burgundy, the kingdom of Boso, had already fallen away. In the break-up which we are now recording a new Burgundy arose to the north of it. "Hrodulf," says our Chronicler, "took to the middle kingdom," a happy phrase in which volumes of history are written. The kingdom of Rudolf was the Burgundy of the Jura, the land of which Besançon and Geneva and the Prætorian Augusta were three of the chiefest cities. But Rudolf took not to the most northern Burgundy of all,

to that Burgundy to which alone the Burgundian name cleaves to this day. The Burgundy of Dijon cast in its lot with Latin *Francia* as part of the "West deal." Karolingia was thus, for a large part of its eastern frontier, the land west of Rhone and Saone. Further north, Lotharingia for the present passed with the lands east of Rhine. But at its two eastern corners the western kingdom stretched far to the north and south of the modern land that claims to answer to it. The "West deal" took in at the one end the county of Flanders in its fullest extent; at the other it took in the Spanish march of Pippin, the lands as far as the Ebro. How widely the eastern frontier of Karolingia differed from any frontier which we are apt to assign to modern France is perhaps best set forth by saying that it took in Bruges and Barcelona, that it did not take in Arles, Lyons, Besançon, Metz, or Cambray.

Such was the extent of the kingdom which now for ever parted away from its fellow kingdoms. To none of them was it ever to be reunited; but large parts of all of them, by far the greater part of one of them, were in the course of ages to be incorporated with it. Modern France is Karolingia, cut short by the Spanish march and the greater part of Flanders, enlarged by a large part of Lotharingia, and by the greater part of the two Burgundian realms. That it should have that extent was determined by the events of the year that followed the deposition of the Emperor. The degree of authority which the king was to have in the various parts of his nominal kingdom was to shape itself by those events and by other events that followed them. And wherever the results of those events might place the chief seat of the kingship of the Western realm, it was certain that the continental Britain, the Armorican peninsula, would yield as little obedience as might be to the wearer of any Frankish crown.

§ 2. *The New Kings.* 888–889.

We were assured a little time back that all the kingdoms under Frankish rule were rich in men worthy to reign. Of the three living male descendants of the Imperial house, Arnulf alone seems to have been looked on as answering that description. Bernhard, the son of the late Emperor, seems never to have been thought of at all. He was doubtless of illegitimate birth, but not more clearly so than Arnulf. The babe Charles, the son of Lewis and Adelaide, was not thought of as yet. He was the offspring of a marriage that was open to dispute; but he had a better claim to legitimacy than either Arnulf or Bernhard. His childhood was more against him than his birth. A king in the cradle might be endured in Merowingian days, when the name of king might not go beyond the divine stock, and when a Mayor of the Palace stood ready to discharge the active duties of kingship. But those superstitions had passed away; the king, the *cyning* who was to be in truth the founder of a new kingdom, must be more than a mere *cyning* by descent; he must be in his own person the leader of his folk, their *ealdorman* in peace, their *heretoga* in war. If among the many worthy, the crown was to go to the worthiest, in the Western realm at least there was one whose merits might place him first in the rank of all the candidates for royalty. Odo, Count of Paris, champion of Gaul and Christendom against the heathen invader, stood forth with a glory round his name surpassing that of all living men save the West-Saxon king who had wrought so well in the same cause. Paris and her lord had done and suffered more for Christendom than any other city, than any other man in all the Teutonic and Latin realms. It was but meet that the Count should become a king, that his city should become the seat of kings. With such a candidate before their eyes, men might well forget the law of Pope Zachary which forbade the Franks to choose a king

of any stock but that of Pippin. But neither in the Western realms nor in any of the other kingdoms had the memory of that law wholly passed away. The general feeling seems to have been to attempt to combine the local independence of the several kingdoms with some shadow of respect to the great line whose legitimate male stock seemed to be passing away. The Teutonic kingdom had deemed the reproach of bastardy no hindrance to the choice of the one Karling who could lay any claim of personal fitness for the kingly office. In the Roman lands the choice partly fell on men who, if not strictly Karlings, were at least of Karolingian blood on the mother's side, partly on men who, if not sprung even in this way from the Imperial house, had some connexion with it by affinity, in the last resort on men of great Frankish houses which had been high in the favour of former kings and who had been endowed with fiefs and honours at their hands. Odo alone, a man of uncertain stock, could bring no claim except that he and his father had shown themselves worthy of a crown. In the end "Odda took to the West deal." But "the West deal" was not the first to make its choice; that choice did not unanimously fall on the Count of Paris, nor did a first and a second crowning secure him against insurrection on behalf of a Karling who, besides the fact that he was a Karling, had nothing to point him out as a ruler of men.

The first kingdom to make a choice was the Lombards' land, the land beyond the mountain, the land of which it was so cruelly said that its people always wished to have two kings that they might have an excuse for obeying neither. But now for the moment, though only for the moment, the choice seemed to be unanimous. Two men stood forth among the other great ones of the Italian kingdom to one or other of whom its crown might be surely looked to fall. The Beorngar of our Chronicle is better known, by a softened form of his Teutonic name, as Berengarius and Berengar. He had succeeded his father

Everhard as Margrave, in Roman shape Marquess, the border land of Friuli, the ancient Forum of Julius. No man who had not a Karling to his father could boast of so near a descent from the Imperial stock; no one was parted by so few degrees from the Great Charles. His mother Gisela was own daughter of the first Emperor Lewis. The other great noble of Italy was a kinsman of the royal house without being himself of kingly blood. This was Wido, in modern form Guy, Duke of Spoleto, sprung from an old Frankish house which the Emperor Lothar had translated from the banks of the Mosel to the land between Tiber and Nar. His mother Ita appears to have been a near kinswoman of the Empress Judith, so that Guy was connected by blood with Charles the Bald and thereby with the infant Charles who now represented the Karolingian house in the Western realm. He might have seemed a natural rival to Berengar for the Lombard crown, and very shortly we shall see him in that character. But just at the moment of the general break-up his ambition looked elsewhere. Berengar was at the time the general choice of Frankish Italy. On one of the last days of the old year or one of the first days of the new, within the holy season of Christmas, the Marquess of Friuli was hallowed to king in the old seat of Lombard kingship at Pavia.

The Italian kingship of Berengar was simply the falling back on an elder state of things. Under the Great Charles himself, King of the Franks and Lombards, Italy was still, as it had been under the successors of Alboin, a separate kingdom. It now simply asserted its right to choose a king for itself distinct from the kings of either the Eastern or the Western Franks. The crowning of the next king that was chosen marked the creation of a new kingdom. "Rudolf took to the Middle Kingdom." The Middle Kingdom in its full extent would be the realm of the Emperor Lothar outside Italy, the land stretching from the mouths of the Rhine to the mouths of the Rhone. The existence of some such power, a barrier state between East

and West, in later language between Germany and France, is an object after which Europe may be said to have wittingly or unwittingly yearned at various times during the thousand years which part the first Imperial Lothar from the first Imperial William. Since Lothar himself, the prince who came nearest to making it a reality was Charles the Bold, Duke and Count of two Burgundies, as of many lands besides, and ever ready to become King, under whatever title, of what would have been truly a middle kingdom. Days before and after him saw many feebler strivings after the same object, the latest of which have been the European acknowledgement of the neutrality of the Swiss Confederation and of the Belgian Kingdom. The kingdom of the Emperor Lothar had taken in the greater part of the old Burgundy as well as the lands to the north of it to which his son's possession had given the name of Lotharingia. This last land was now part of the realm of Arnulf. That Burgundy to which the Burgundian name was abidingly to cleave had, in the various partitions, passed with the West-Frankish realm. The southern Burgundy, Provence and the neighbouring lands, had fallen away under Boso, and was now in a state of utter anarchy under the nominal rule of his son Lewis, the adopted son of the Emperor Charles. But the Burgundy of the Jura and the Alps, the Burgundy of the Upper Rhone and the Leman Lake, now for the first time asserted its independent being. Rudolf, like Guy, was a kinsman of kings without being their descendant. He came of the stock of an elder Rudolf, the brother of the Empress Judith; Count, Marquess, lay Abbot of the great house of Saint Maurice in the Rhone valley, he held several of the chief passes of the Alps, a position which gave its chief importance to the realm of which he was the first king. To that rank he was, in the January of the new year (888), chosen in an assembly of the temporal and spiritual lords of the Upper Burgundy and crowned king of the new kingdom in his own abbey of Saint Maurice. Before long another crown came to him,

but only for a moment. If any conscious thought of a middle kingdom had come into the head of Rudolf or of any other man, it might certainly seem hard that it should be shut up within the narrow bounds of the Alpine Burgundy. The new king sent messengers into Lotharingia to see what hopes there were of adding that often disputed land to his own dominions. His claims were accepted at least in the southern part of that kingdom. In a Lotharingian assembly at Toul he was crowned a second time by Arnold, Bishop of that city.

Two kingdoms had thus chosen themselves before any choice had been made in the West-Frankish realm. The land was divided between two claimants. The exploits of Odo of Paris did not secure him an unanimous choice. They might raise jealousy; at any rate in some minds they did not outweigh the fact that he was in some sort a new man—neither of the kingly stock nor of any of the great houses of the land. His chief supporters were a certain Count Theodoric and Walter the young Archbishop of Sens, the metropolitan of his own city. He evidently had the full support of his own duchy and the stronger party in all the lands north of Loire. But another party, even before the death of the Emperor, had fixed their eyes on Guy of Spoleto. The prospect of the Western throne led him to acquiesce in, or at least not actively to oppose, the election of Berengar in Italy. He came at the bidding of his partisans, but the followers of Odo were the first formally to make a king. On the last day of February in a leap-year (Feb. 29, 888) Odo was crowned by his zealous supporter Archbishop Walter. The rite of hallowing was not done in Walter's own metropolitan church or in any other of the foremost churches of the Western realm. The new king received his crown in a place of no higher renown than the royal dwelling of Compiègne. It may be that the lay abbot of so many monasteries was, notwithstanding all his great deeds, looked on with some suspicion by strict

churchmen. A document of that day by which he binds himself, be it in strictness a capitulary or a coronation-oath, pledges him in the fullest terms to the observance of every ecclesiastical privilege. It must have been after Odo's crowning, but not long after, that his rival Guy showed himself in the south-eastern corner of the kingdom. His partisans gathered round him, and he too was crowned in the episcopal church of Langres, by its Bishop and Count Geilo, Abbot also of the great monastery of Tournus on the Saône. Whether Geilo knew the news of Odo's crowning or not, it seems to have been unknown to Guy. When the Duke of Spoleto, on the march of the Western kingdom, heard that a king had been made in the Duchy of France and was supported by a more powerful party than his own, he thought it wiser to submit to what looked like manifest destiny. He thought his chances of an abiding crown were greater in Italy than in Gaul. He forbore to disturb Odo in his new possession; accompanied by some of his West-Frankish supporters, he went back into his own country, to set himself up as a rival king against Berengar.

The two elections of Odo and Guy seem to have been wholly the work of the lands north of the Loire. One annalist distinctly marks Odo as reigning as far as the border river and shuts out Aquitaine from his rule. He adds that Ramonulf, Count of Poitiers, the most powerful of the Aquitanian lords, had thoughts of restoring the Aquitanian kingdom in his own person. The statement may be doubted; at least we hear nothing of any active steps on the part of Ramonulf, and we hear of no dealings of any kind between Odo and Aquitaine till the next year. Most likely, as in some other cases, the South of Gaul took no notice of the action of the North till something made it specially convenient to do so. A little later Ramonulf had the young Charles in his keeping. He may have waited to see which course might best answer his purpose, whether to strike for a crown for himself in the

south lands, to assert the claim of Charles to the whole Western kingdom, or to acknowledge a superiority in Odo which was not likely to interfere in any great measure with his practical independence. For the present he did nothing. Meanwhile after the withdrawal of Guy, Odo was occupying himself in using both threats and persuasion to establish his power in France and in what we are tempted to call the French Burgundy. It is from this time that we see the first beginnings of that famous duchy which before long gave a king to the Western kingdom, and whose fame has outshone that of the kingdoms of Boso and Rudolf. Richard, Count of Autun, was a true supporter of Odo, and it was his county which grew into the duchy of which Dijon was the head.

But the new king had still to struggle for his crown. The greatest spiritual and temporal lords of the lands north of Loire arose against him. They seem to have had no hand in the election of Guy, and the direction in which they looked was one which shut out Guy and Odo alike. Their leader was the highest prelate of the Western kingdom, Fulk, Archbishop of Rheims. The primates of that great see, the successors of Remigius, had a standing feud with their brethren at Sens, and Fulk might well deem the rights of his church to have been scorned when both the rival metropolitans and the Bishop of Langres, an almost foreign prelate, suffragan of the Primate of Lyons, took upon them to hallow kings for Western Francia. With him were joined several of his suffragans and Rudolf, Abbot of Saint Vedast at Arras, and the most powerful secular neighbour of the last-named prelate, the second Count Baldwin of Flanders. Son of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, he might himself have made as good a claim to some crown or other as any man who came of kings by the spindle-side only. To us he has a greater interest as the son-in-law of West-Saxon Ælfred, the husband of that Ælfthryth through whom some drops of kingly English blood passed to William the Red and Henry the Clerk.

The object of these lords was to undo the common act of all the kingdoms as far as concerned the kingdom to which they themselves belonged. Let the men of Italy or Burgundy or Aquitaine do as they would, they would again have a King of the Franks, Eastern and Western, a king of the male line of kings and emperors. They prayed Arnulf to come into the Western realm and to receive the crown which they assured him was his by right.

While they were plotting, the new King was again busy at his old calling. He was smiting the heathen invaders of Gaul and of more than Gaul. For his present exploit was wrought beyond the Lotharingian border, by the hill of Montfaucon, where the streams of Aisne and Meuse draw near to one another. There a sober annalist tells us how on the day of Saint John Baptist the mercy of God gave to King Odo an unlooked-for victory. With a small host he overthrew the host of the Danes by the stream of Aisne and gat him great renown thereby. The poet of the siege of Paris tells us a story more detailed; but hardly so clear. The King is going on his way with a thousand men on each side of him. A hunter warns him of the near coming of ten thousand mountain Northmen. He gives them battle and scatters them. While others speak of rest, Odo warns them that others of the heathens may be following their comrades. He will climb the hill, and, if need be, give warning with his horn. He sees nine thousand footmen of the enemy on march. He gives the signal; he comes down from the hill, and leads his followers to a second onslaught on the armies of the aliens. A Danish axe is hurled at him; it glances from his helmet, and the sword of Odo cuts down the heathen who had dared to lift up his hand against the Lord's Anointed. Never, we are assured, did the light of one day look on such slaughter and such victory.

There was still much work to be done before any one of the Frankish realms was free from Scandinavian invasion. But the gallant exploit of Montfaucon no doubt told on

Odo's behalf with many minds, with the mind of King Arnulf most of all. Such a king was not lightly to be cast aside, whether as sovereign or as colleague. To the King of the Eastern Franks it might well seem better to make terms with such a neighbour rather than to make enemies of him and his partisans. A compromise might be made; Arnulf might decline the offer of the Western crown, and Odo might be willing to hold it as the gift of his fellow king, his senior in kingship, the one king of direct Karolingian blood. It was with this view that Arnulf invited Odo to an assembly of the Eastern kingdom at Worms. Odo agreed. He sent before him his faithful Count Theodoric and others to prepare for his personal coming, to look after his interests, and to let him know the time when he would be needed himself. And it would seem that his exploit at Montfaucon won for him, for a while at least, the heart of the most powerful of his enemies within his kingdom. Baldwin of Flanders, the mighty Marquess who kept the march of East and West, parted himself from Archbishop Fulk and the rest of his party. He came to the King and did him homage. Presently came the formal meeting at Worms (July 3–August 23, 888). Odo was received with all honour; there can be little doubt that he received the Western crown afresh as the man of Arnulf. It seems to have been agreed that his earlier crowning should be judged irregular and that, on his return to his kingdom, the rite should be repeated in a form less open to cavil than the ceremony performed by Walter at Compiègne. Odo was also required to pledge himself to bear no ill to those who had made the offer of the crown to Arnulf.

This transaction between Arnulf and Odo is distinctly honourable to the policy and moderation of both kings. Most princes of those days would have rushed into war on a much smaller excuse. It was clearly the policy of Arnulf, when he found that he could not keep all the

crowns of his house on his own head, to try to keep some measure of union among them by causing the acknowledgement of some measure of supremacy in itself. He was aiming at an Imperial position, doubtless already with a view to the journey and the rite which were one day to give him the formal Empire. And he so far succeeded that in the end all the other kings, as our own Chronicler so pointedly tells us, became his men. Of these, Odo, personally the most famous man among them and chosen to the greatest kingdom, was the first and example to others. Odo standing by himself had failed to secure the universal consent of his kingdom; as the homager of the Eastern King, holding the crown as his gift, he met, for a while at least, with no open opposition. He had now to go back to his own land to take possession on the new terms. But he came into a land in which he had to strive against other enemies than rival kings and rebellious nobles. His victory at Montfaucon had stood him in good stead as a candidate for kingship, but it was a small stroke towards driving the heathen invaders and plunderers out of the kingdom. It was truly a hard fate for the lands of the Frankish dominion that the inevitable parting asunder of the Karolingian Empire, the rise or restoration of kingdoms which had more of claim to the character of national powers, came at the very moment when all the energies of every corner of the land were needed to strive against the common enemy of all. The contrast between the mainland and our own island is striking. In England the Danish invasions distinctly helped the work of union. In Gaul we can hardly say that they helped the work of disunion; but they heightened the difficulties of the time when disunion could no longer be staved off. At this moment Ælfred was resting after the warfare of his earlier years; he was strengthening his enlarged kingdom, enlarged through the coming of the enemy, for the second struggle of the later years of his reign. Odo had still first to take more solemn possession

of his crown and then to find out whether he was really king over his whole realm, while the enemy who had left the West-Saxon king a moment of peace was encamped in the heart of the West-Frankish kingdom. It was only one division of the Northern army which his famous exploit had scattered. While he was going through friendly ceremonies with his colleague and overlord at Worms, the main body were working their will on a city of his own duchy, in dangerous nearness to his capital. Meaux on the Marne was besieged by the host, who brought up battering-engines to play upon the walls. Siegmund or Segemund the Bishop and his brother Count Theodberht made a vigorous defence. Many of the assailants were slain; but the hearts of the defenders failed when the valiant Count was slain, and no help came from any quarter. The multitude called for an agreement with the enemy, and Meaux capitulated on condition that the inhabitants should go forth in safety. It follows almost as a matter of course that the terms were broken. The Bishop and his people had hardly crossed the Marne when they were followed and slaughtered by the Northmen. The heathen entered the city, and abode there till November drew nigh. Their next object seems to have been another attack on Paris. That at least Odo was able to hinder. His first duty on coming back from Germany was the defence of his capital. He gathered an army; he pitched his camp by Paris; the Northmen did not attack, but went away southward. They made their winter-quarters by the stream of Loing which runs into the Seine by Moret. There the two great rivers of Seine and Loire draw so near together as to give the land somewhat of the character of an isthmus. Such a district was well suited for the purposes of the Northmen; it was easy to carry their ravages at pleasure into various regions of France, Aquitaine, and Burgundy. This time they seem to have mainly struck eastward. We hear of them at Auxerre, at Bèze near Dijon, and even as threatening the great monastery of Tournus on the Saône.

It was of a kingdom torn to pieces by such enemies as these that Odo had now a second time to take possession. The agreement which had been entered into with Arnulf and the partisans of Arnulf required a second crowning of the new king which might seem more regular as to place and celebrant than the ceremony which Walter of Sens had gone through at Compiègne. First of a long line of princes of his house, Odo of Paris received his second hallowing in the city of Remigius at the hands of the successor of Remigius. On the day of Saint Brice (November 13, 888), with the shooting stars to guide his path, not in Remigius' own abbey without the walls, but in the Metropolitan Church of Our Lady, the crown which the Eastern lord had sent to his Western man was placed on the head of Odo by his former enemy Fulk, now for a few years his reconciled subject. It was doubtless to show the good terms on which the new king stood towards his late enemies that Odo kept the Christmas feast with Abbot Rudolf of Saint Vedast (December 25, 888).

The German king had thus taken a great step towards the establishment of his position as the head king of all the Frankish kingdoms. He was the acknowledged overlord of the greatest among them. Before the year was out two more of the new kings had become his men. Rudolf was more distinctly an enemy and a rival than Odo; besides his Burgundian kingship, he had gone through the form of a Lotharingian crowning. Of these two the position conferred by the rite at Saint Maurice might be endured and acknowledged, like that conferred by the rite at Compiègne. But the rite done at Toul must be made utterly void and of none effect. Arnulf had led no army against Odo; he led one against the usurper of Lotharingia. The Lotharingian kingdom of Rudolf fell to pieces as Arnulf entered Elsass. His adherents came to make their submission, and the hand of the German king was heavy on Bishop Arnold the consecrator of his rival. Arnulf

then left further action against Rudolf to his Alamannian followers. Men spoke of the hardship of waging war with an enemy who could withdraw to the heights which were meant only for the bouquetin and the chamois. Into those regions Arnulf did not follow him; he had a call in another quarter. But Rudolf seems to have thought the example of Odo a safe one to follow. Between the submission at Worms and the crowning at Rheims, the King of the Jura, the King of the High Burgundy, made his way to Regensburg, and there became the man of the King of the East-Franks. It was but a patched-up agreement. Arnulf seems simply to have accepted the submission of Rudolf because what took him to the Bavarian kingdom where they met was to receive the submission of another king on whose adhesion he set a greater price. Between Arnulf and Rudolf there was assuredly no love lost. We read of more than one invasion of the Burgundian land by German armies; but the tale is always the same as the first time. The fortresses of the high mountains which formed the strength of Rudolf's kingdom were beyond the power of Arnulf's warriors to scale.

At Regensburg Arnulf was on his way to Trent, the border city of Bavaria and Lombardy. Guy, having failed of the Western crown, had gone back to Italy to dispute the kingdom with Berengar. We seem to be carried over many centuries when we read the way in which the Duke of Spoleto is spoken of by the followers of the King from Friuli. Guy is not only the tyrant; that description is a matter of course, and it is true according to the language of the time. It marks the growth of national feeling in the several lands that the panegyrist of Berengar systematically holds Guy up to Italian hatred as the stranger, the stranger from Gaul. We have seen that he was of Frankish descent; he had certainly come out of Gaul on his present enterprise; he had even brought helpers from Gaul with him; but the way in which the Gaulish leader, with his baleful Gaulish following is spoken of might suggest

Brennus on the one hand or Charles the Eighth on the other. Berengar, on the other hand, is carefully put forward as the champion of Italy and of Latium, though Spoleto was certainly nearer to Rome and the Thirty Cities than Friuli. One might venture the guess that, if anything, Berengar more truly represented the German element in Italy; he at any rate found it easier to make his peace with the German king. The war began; the first of the two folkfights of the English Chronicler was fought by Brescia. King Berengar had possession of the place of slaughter; but his own loss was so great that a truce till the Epiphany of the next year (Jan. 6, 889) was agreed on. Long before that day the German king was on his march to claim for himself, as it would seem, the crown which was so fiercely disputed. We see a feeble memory of the Italian journeys of Pippin, a feeble foreshadowing of the first Italian journey of Otto, when Arnulf goes back to keep his Christmas (Dec. 25, 888) in his own Carinthian home, having received the homage of an Italian king, but not having won for himself an Italian kingdom (October–December, 888). Berengar found it prudent to accept Arnulf as his lord; Arnulf found it prudent to accept Berengar as his man; before the year of partition was ended, the King of the East-Franks had received the homage of three of his fellow kings. He had won an Imperial position among the princes of his race. He had but barely touched the soil of Italy; but a King of kings, the one Karling among reigning kings, might, in that slight experience of the Imperial land, have felt a call to go another day to take the orb and crown of Empire for himself.

The Eastern king was thus overlord of Karolingia, of Italy, of the High Burgundian realm. One land alone of the kingdoms of his house had still to be fully received under his supremacy. The southern Burgundy, the land of Provence, the kingdom of Boso, began to feel the need of some relief from utter anarchy. It was agreed to choose

a king, but to choose him with the good will and under the supremacy of the German king. Irmengard, daughter of the last Emperor Lewis, widow of Boso, mother of the young Lewis, came to Arnulf's court at Forchheim to ask for his support in asserting the claims of her son. Two *missi* of the Eastern overlord, a Bishop and a Count, were sent to give their master's sanction to the election and crowning of Lewis in the church of Valence above the Rhone. By his authority and that of Pope Stephen, young Lewis was crowned by the Primate of all the Gauls, Aurelian of Lyons, and the other Archbishops of a land where metropolitan churches are thicker on the ground than in any other Cisalpine realm. The boy was to reign under the care of his mother and of Richard, prince of the ducal Burgundy. Subject and friend of Odo, his guardianship connected the King of Arles, the King of Provence, with the Western as well as the Eastern kingdom. All looked with a jealous eye on Rudolf in his Middle Kingdom and his central fortress among the mountains. It might seem for a moment that all the lands which had been united under the immediate rule of Charles the Great and Charles the Third, which had cast away the immediate rule of the later Charles, had come together again in another shape. The head King dwells beyond the Rhine; the West deal and the Middle Kingdom and the Lombards' land, have all bowed to the King who alone came of the Imperial stock on his father's side. And to keep on kingdom and overlordship in the line which men honoured even in its bastard slips, Arnulf won over the lords of the Eastern kingdom to a devise of the Eastern crown, in case of the failure of lawful heirs, to his natural sons Zwentibald and Ratulf.

Here then might seem to be a settlement for all the lands that had ever come under Frankish rule. But it hardly took effect even for a moment. Arnulf received the homage of four kings; but before the fourth had become his man, the kingdom of the third had fallen away. If

Arnulf believed that he had won an abiding lordship over Italy, facts soon undeceived him. If he already looked forward to Empire, other Augusti were to step in before him. He had gone back from Trent, leaving Berengar behind him as a vassal king, with some military help from his overlord to keep him on his throne. As soon as Arnulf's back was turned, as soon as the holy truce was over (January, 889), the second folkfight, on Hannibal's old battle-ground of the Trebia, gave the upper-hand to Guy (February, 889). Chosen and crowned King at Pavia, he was two years later (February, 891) crowned Emperor at Rome by a Pope who had already cried to Arnulf as his predecessors had cried to Pippin and Charles, as his successors were to cry to Otto. The invading duke from Gaul was now Imperator and Augustus, first Imperator and Augustus of Frankish but not of Karolingian blood. In his eyes his Empire seemed a renewal of the kingdom of the Franks. That last name is now beginning to put on a twofold meaning. Did the Gaulish stranger have some dim notion of that Empire of the Gauls to which men had sworn ages before in the days of Civilis, and of which ages after, all but within our own day, his royal Pavia was to become an appendage and his ducal Spoleto an integral part? He at least had learned the secret that Emperors could be made elsewhere than in Rome. It was in Ravenna, among the memories of emperors, kings, and exarchs, that Lambert son of Guy was crowned by Pope John the Eighth as joint-Emperor with his father (April 30, 892). The next year (893) saw the German overlord assert the rights of his own vassal; Zwentibald came into Italy as the champion of Berengar. Arnulf himself followed (February 2, 894); the fearful sack of Bergamo made the German name hateful in Italian ears; Lombardy submitted; and Arnulf went back again to strike a blow at Rudolf of the High Burgundy on his way. Guy died almost at the same moment; but the Emperor Lambert reigned; Pope Formosus sent up yet another cry for the German king to

come as a deliverer 895. The deliverer of the Pope was not looked on as a deliverer by the Romans, who fought against the German invader under the command of their widowed Empress. Rome was stormed by a host who in Italian mouths became the Gaulish folk of Bavaria; the like had not been known since Brennus and his Senones. The Imperial crown, unheard of in the days of Brennus, was the prize of the new conqueror (February 22, 896). After a reign of a fortnight, the new Augustus turned his back on the capital of the world, to go home a sick and weary man, to leave Berengar the King and Lambert the Emperor to dispute and divide the Italian kingdom.

It seemed well, when we had once found our way along the endless revolutions of Italy, to carry them on for a few years beyond the point which we had actually reached in our story. It was needless for our purpose to recount them in detail, while events could not wholly be passed over in which so many of the leading actors of our story took a part. We may come back from them with some relief to the lands which more immediately concern us, to the three kingdoms which have arisen within the bounds of Gaul and to the German king in the character, not of a momentary Emperor, but of the head king of four reigning on this side of the Alps. Odo, Rudolf, Lewis, were all homagers of Arnulf, and Odo had been the first to become such. It might seem that by the agreement at Worms, and the crowning at Rheims, it had been ruled that, even if Burgundy and Italy should fall away, some measure of connexion should still be kept up between the two kingdoms of the Franks. But the word of destiny had gone forth the other way. Germany, Italy, and Burgundy were again in some sort to come together. But with the kingship of Odo they came for ever, as one of our authors puts it, between the Teutonic and the Latin Franks. In the language of modern geography, *Franconia* and *France* were to be names and things wholly parted asunder. The Teutonic Frank was

to become the kernel of the German nation; the Latin Frank was to give his name, and something more, to the French nation. With this parting then, for the hundred years over which our tale has got to run, our range is narrowed. Thus far it has been impossible to tell the story of the German kings in Gaul without largely telling the story of those kings in other parts of their dominions. With the year of the general partition, the Eastern kingdom no less than the Italian kingdom becomes a distinctly foreign land to the realms of the Western Franks. We can hardly say that the Italian kingdom has ever been anything else during any part of our story. Charles the Great was King of the Franks without distinction of Neustria and Austria; he was King of the Lombards as a separate and conquered realm. But from this point the two kingdoms of the Franks become as distinct as any other two kingdoms at any time. During our century that is still to come, the history of the two has the closest connexion; political relations, family relations, are always bringing the two together. The border-land of Lotharingia for a while supplies matter of dispute, but it is dispute between two independent states. That trouble over, the Eastern king shows himself as the stay and protector of his Western kinsman. The old days of royal colleagues seem to have come back when Otto and Lewis sit together at Attigny. But in truth all that the Eastern king does is to prolong the struggle within the Western kingdom; he does nothing to undo the severance which has been already fully wrought between East and West. When the King of Laon needs the support of his Saxon brother to maintain him against the Duke of Paris, it is the surest of all signs that the true life of the Western kingdom has passed away from the house of Pippin to the house of Robert, from the city on the rock to the city in the island.

From this time then the Western kingdom becomes our special subject, and within the Western kingdom it is the Duchy of France and the dukes and kings that came of it

that form the centre of that subject. Of Italy we have now little to say; of Germany we have to say much, as of a foreign land. But our subject is Gaul; and the two Burgundian kingdoms, as founded on Gaulish soil, still come within our range. Politically as distinct from the Western realm as Italy or Germany, they still, both by geography and by language, form part of our subject as before. There is much less to say of them than there is to say of Paris, Laon, and Rouen; but what there is to say directly concerns us. And there is perhaps as much to say of them as there is of Bordeaux and Barcelona. Nor can we wholly keep out of our minds the great fact of the future, that the power which Odo now called into being in his own Paris was one day to annex well nigh the whole kingdom of Boso and the more part of the kingdom of Rodulf. It was even to spread the name of his duchy on the Seine over the distant land;

> "Imperialis ubi Burgundia surgit ad Alpes
> Et condescendit Rhodano."

The time was to come when Provence was to be ruled from Paris, and a later time still when men at Arelate and Aquæ Sextiæ were to count themselves as Frenchmen.

§ 3. *Odo and Charles.* 889–898.

Coming back then to our immediate tale, we see King Odo, crowned at Rheims, welcomed at Saint Vedast, fully acknowledged in the lands north of Loire. South of the boundary river he had still to find out how he might be received. He had met with no active opposition; but active opposition was not the manner of the southern lands. But it seems to have been only in the furthest borderland of all that any active step was taken towards his acknowledgement. Between Pyrenees and Ebro the name of Odo was likely to win to itself greater honour

than between Loire and Garonne. The champion of Christendom against the heathen would be better understood by the men of the Spanish march, who had to strive against misbelievers of their own, if not more terrible, yet certainly more abiding. The Marquess Wifred, who had won back again the land of Ausona, the modern Vicque, from the Saracen, began to date his acts by the years of King Odo before the crowning at Rheims, before the victory at Montfaucon.

[Here the fragment ends.]

936.

It helps to give some slight measure of unity to the last period of our story that the two kingdoms of the Franks became vacant in a single year, and that the elections by which they were filled do each in a manner part off an epoch. Rudolf and Henry pass away within a few months of each other. With the election of the successor of Rudolf, a stirring and turbulent time begins in the Western kingdom, but from that point till the end of our story we at least know who is its king. The next fifty years are full of shiftings and changes, shiftings and changes which very seriously affect the person and authority of the successive kings, but which never call in question their kingship. Three more Karolingian reigns, two of them full indeed of incident and adventure, part us from the great change when the German kings in Gaul were to come to an end for ever, and when the realm of France, in the modern sense of the name, was at last to show itself, if not in its full growth, at least in its germ. On the hill of Laon the German element in Gaul, embodied in the kings of the house of Pippin and Arnulf, makes its last stand. And in this its last stage it is in a manner reinforced and strengthened by other Teutonic elements. The Karolingian king of the West-Franks, son of a West-Saxon mother, has been brought up in the Saxon

island and finds helpers both in the Saxon island and on the Saxon mainland. He appears on Gaulish soil as Lewis from-beyond-the-sea, pupil of his uncle the King from-beyond-the sea, *pupil* too, one may say in another sense, of his other uncle the King from-beyond-the-Rhine. Placed on his throne by the West-Saxon, guarded there by the Old-Saxon, backed at one moment by the fleets of the one, at another by the armies of the other, speaking the ancient tongue common to both, the tongue which the West-Frank had cast aside and which the East-Frank had changed into other forms, the Karolingian King of Laon might seem to have come, like his mighty forefathers the Pippins and Karls of earlier days, again to give a new life to all that was Teutonic in the land in which the Frank had overcome the Roman and had been led captive by him. But that process of leading captive had by that time gone too far. In the seventh century a Teutonic reaction was still possible; in the tenth all hope of it had passed away. If there had been any chance for it, if there had been any kind of balance between the King of Laon and the mighty Duke of Paris, the coming of the Duke of Rouen, established though he was at the cost of Paris, settled the strife for ever. When the Northmen who had found a home on Gaulish soil threw in their lot with the men whose tongue they had made their own, the question was indeed settled. If Laon found it hard to stand against Paris, it was harder still to stand against Paris and Rouen together. The King of Laon could abide only in some small measure by the help of Aachen, but far more by the sufferance of Paris. The thing was in the fates. There had been two kings of Paris already, there were presently to be kings of Paris again, kings of the most abiding of all dynasties. That there was a King of Laon at all was simply because the Duke of Paris refused to be a king. But for that the lasting kingship of the house of Robert the Strong might have begun fifty years earlier than it did. The act of 987 did but confirm the act of 887. The half-century of

German kingship in the West on which we have now to enter is in truth but an anachronism and an interlude.

In the Eastern kingdom meanwhile, though the actual year does not in the same way mark off a period, yet it brings to the front a man who was to do something more than mark a period, who was to stamp himself and his work on the whole later history of Europe. Almost at the same moment that the Frankish kingship of the West, as a Teutonic kingship, receives the last feeble lease of life, the Frankish kingship of the East passes to the man who was to raise it to the full height of power and glory. Yet if one was to pass away through its weakness, the other was to pass away through its strength. The Western kingdom passed away as a Frankish kingdom because the West-Franks had ceased to be Franks, because, if their kings kept the Frankish name in their kingly style, they kept it only in so new a sense that we are driven to find new forms to express it in other tongues. The *Rex Francorum* of the West lives on in his Latin style; but in other tongues we must translate *Franci* by *French* and *Français*. There is not only a new kingly line, but a line which reigns over a newly found nation. The Eastern kingdom passed away as a Frankish kingdom because it rose so high among the powers of the world that its kings themselves forgot that it was a Frankish kingdom. Emperor of the Romans, Cæsar and Augustus, Lord of the World and Advocate of the Universal Church, among such glories the East-Frankish king came soon to drop his Frankish style. As yet we have two *Reges Francorum*, Eastern and Western; before the century is out, the Eastern king has dropped his Frankish title and the Western king keeps it only with a meaning altogether new.

The year which we have now reached is the beginning of all this. It is the year in which the Western King Lewis took his crown at Laon and in which the Eastern King Otto took his crown at Aachen. The one was happily described in his own day as the King from-beyond-the-sea;

on the other the world has fixed its highest stamp for all the ages, and enrolled him among its chosen great ones alongside of Constantine and Charles. In the beginnings of their reigns the difference in their destinies might not seem so strongly marked out. Each had to struggle hard to keep his crown; or more truly, while Otto had strictly to strive to keep his crown, Lewis had rather to strive for all that made his crown worth keeping. Each had to strive against enemies within his own kingdom; Otto had, far more than Lewis, to strive against enemies beyond its borders. Indeed the part of his nominal kingdom in which Lewis reigned was so placed that it would have been hard for him to find really an immediate foreign neighbour, unless that description is to be applied to Otto himself. Both had to endure the attacks of the Magyar enemies of all Christendom; but Lewis had simply to endure their attacks, Otto had to drive back and to avenge them. And the relations between the two princes themselves, first hostile, then specially friendly, form a large part of the history, the almost local history, of Lewis; in the œcumenical career of Otto they seem but a slight episode.

The way in which both kings came to their crowns is highly instructive in a constitutional point of view. Both succeeded by that mixture of election and of something other than election with which we are familiar as the lawful source of Teutonic kingship. Each was elected, elected in the strictest sense, elected in preference to others who either asserted their own claims or had others ready to assert them. Lewis to be sure was chosen by the strongest recommendation of the one candidate whom we hear of as proposed against him. But each came before the electors with a strong presumption and recommendation in his favour. The first time that a Frankish king had received the kingly unction, Pope Stephen had solemnly charged the people of the Franks never to choose a king but from among the stock of Pippin only. That law had

been broken in both kingdoms; the West-Franks came back to its observance in the choice of Lewis, the only, or at least the most obvious, representative of the line of Pippin. The nature of his claim is well set forth by a writer of a somewhat later time; "The chief men of the whole realm chose Lewis, son of the aforesaid King Charles, anointing him king over them to reign by hereditary right." Otto had no such claim as this; the bidding of Stephen had long been forgotten in the Eastern kingdom; the son of a king chosen from among his brethren, born before that king had been raised to kingship, the magic claim that comes of kingly forefathers had hardly passed upon him. The special claim of Lewis on the votes of the Western electors was that he was the representative through many generations of their first anointed king. The special claim of Otto on the votes of the Eastern electors was the recommendation of the king who had gone before him, his unanointed father. But Otto and Lewis alike were kings because the choice of the men of their kingdoms called them to the highest office among their people.

The ancient forms for the consecration of a king direct that he shall be led straightway from the gathering of the elders of the people who have chosen him to the church, where he is to receive the ecclesiastical election by clergy and people, and finally to become the Lord's Anointed at the hands of the chief bishop of his realm. In the case of Otto, when his turn came some months later, this rule was strictly followed. In the earlier case of Charles, its observance was impossible. When King Rudolf died (January 14, 936),

[No more of this section can be found.]

§ 4. *The First Civil War.* 939.

The affairs of Lotharingia at this time, and the warfare which the kings of the two Frankish kingdoms waged for the possession of that land, are told us in considerable detail, but in a way which is not a little perplexing. The Eastern and Western writers do not exactly contradict one another; but each leaves out parts of the story which are needful for its full understanding. The Monk of Corbey and the Bishop of Cremona describe a war between Otto and Henry without any mention of Lewis. The Canon and the Monk of Rheims describe a war between Lewis and Otto without any mention of Henry. It is the man who wrote in the land between the two, in the very land which was touched by the disputes of all these princes, who enables us to put things a little in their right places[1]. In the monastery of Saint Maximin outside the walls of Trier it was more clearly remembered—or it was not so convenient to forget—that the rebel Saxon and the kingly West-Frank had both of them a share in the work. And yet, after all, it is a later and a very confused voice from Rheims which tells us the true origin of the whole matter[2].

At the moment—it was all but at the same moment—when Lewis received his crown at Laon and Otto received his at Aachen, the Lotharingian land, the land on whose soil Aachen itself stood, was in the undoubted possession of the Eastern king. We have seen that, at Otto's crowning, the Lotharingian Duke Gilbert, as being at home in the city of the great Emperor, held the most prominent place among the lay princes[3]. But neither the heart of Gilbert nor that of his people was fully true to his royal brother-

[1] That is the Continuator of Regino, writing at Saint Maximin, outside the walls of Trier.

[2] Richer, ii. 18. See Appendix, note 9, p. 417.

[3] See Wid. ii. 2.

in-law. When so many enemies on all sides turned against Otto, it is not wonderful that the men of Lotharingia, the *Lotharians* in the language of the time, turned against him also. If Thankmar and Henry had each a case from his own point of view, the Lotharians had, at any rate in their own eyes, a stronger case. The rule which explains all the revolutions of the border-land comes in here also. Its people, made up of many nations and languages, agreed in this, that they would have a Karling to their king, if a Karling was to be had. If a Karling was not to be had, they preferred—at least the stronger party among them preferred—the Eastern king to the Western. That is to say, the Teutonic element, High and Low—and there must have been a good deal of both—outweighed any form of Romance. While Charles the Simple reigned, he was able, though not always without opposition, to keep his hold on Lotharingia; when Rudolf became King of the West-Franks, Henry was able to make the border-land his own. But now there was a Karling again; the Lotharians had been in a manner surprised into an acceptance of Otto when Lewis had been crowned only a month before him. No wonder then that, when all enemies at home and abroad were setting upon Otto at once, when his own brother and many of his own Saxons were against him, the rebel brother found supporters in Lotharingia, and the rival king found means to turn their dissatisfaction to his advantage.

We seem to read the formal manifesto of the Lotharingian adherents of the Karolingian house in a strangely confused and casual notice which sets forth that Otto was wrongfully claiming the allegiance of the Lotharingian land. When the heir of the Karlings was a babe in his cradle, unable to do anything for the defence of his realm, the inroads of the Slaves at the other end of the Frankish dominions had needed a strong hand to keep them back. To that end Henry of Saxony had been chosen king, perhaps of Saxons only, perhaps of all the lands beyond

the Rhine[1]. But Lotharingia at all events was not called on to acknowledge his son, now that there was again a Karling crowned and anointed, to whom the possession of the whole dominions of his great forefather was due of right[2].

Feelings like these, we may be sure, worked strongly in the minds of many within the border-land, the kingdom of Lothar. We must take care not to look at the matter in the way which it has been natural to look at it for the last three or four centuries. There was as yet no conscious struggle between French and German nationality. Neither the French nor the German nation could as yet be said to have come into being. The germs of both were in being and in busy action; so were the causes of the future national rivalry between them. But the things themselves were not as yet. Duke Hugh of Paris himself did not dream of a *France* which should claim the Rhine as its natural boundary westward. Duke Everhard was as likely to dream of the Seine, the Loire, or the Garonne, as the natural boundary of the other *Francia* westward. Men had already grasped the fact that *Francia Occidentalis* had become *Francia Latina*, while *Francia Orientalis* had become *Francia Teutonica*. But the notion of a German nation which should take in the Saxon, the Bavarian, and the Swabian, as well as the Frank, was as yet only in its earliest beginnings. The notion of a French nation which should take in Poitiers and Bordeaux as well as Paris and Laon, had not as yet reached the stage of its earliest beginnings. And the representative of such a nation, if he was to be looked for anywhere, was assuredly to be looked for in the Duke at Paris rather than in the King at Laon. In fact Hugh's refusal of the crown threw back the natural course of events for fifty years. The Laon kings were a survival and an anachronism. But

[1] Richer, ii. 18. See Appendix, note 9.

[2] Richer, u. s.; "Karolus [meaning "Ludowicus"] cui summa rerum debebatur." This certainly sounds like a claim of the whole Frankish dominions for the West-Frankish king.

no one at the time could know that they were so. The Western king stood forth in men's eyes as the head and representative of the Western kingdom. He might be, in actual extent of dominion, one of the smallest of its princes, but he was its chief none the less. To him lords far mightier than himself, the lords of France and Flanders and Aquitaine, and the Duke of the Pirates himself, bowed the knee and plighted faith. And now that the crown had gone back to the old house, now that on the hill of Laon, if nowhere else, the heir of Charles and Pippin and Arnulf again sat as a king, the old traditions stirred in men's hearts. To the men of the border-land, the very land of the Karolingian house, King Odo and King Robert and King Rudolf had no charm. But King Conrad and King Henry and King Otto had hardly more. Saxon Henry, who had at least not displaced a Karling, was more endurable than Burgundian Rudolf who had. But that was all. Why was Saxon Otto to be crowned and anointed in the minster of the Great Charles, when the son of all the Karls and all the Pippins, heir of the first Frankish Emperor and bearing the name of the second, had been already crowned and anointed, if only in less illustrious Laon? That the whole Lotharingian land, that the whole of any land in those days, should be really of one mind was not to be looked for; but the dark saying of the Monk of Rheims, strangely brought in as it is into his narrative, shows us beyond a doubt what doctrine had more followers than any other between the Rhine and the Maas.

In Saxon Corbey it was only natural that things should have another look. In Otto's own kingdom, in Otto's native duchy, the stirs in Lotharingia seemed to be due only to movements and conspiracies within the Eastern kingdom. There is no hint that the King of the West had any part or lot in the matter. The first agent is the Frankish Duke Everhard, brother of King Conrad, whose wish is to supplant Otto and reign in his stead[1]. He had

[1] Liudprand, Ant. iv. 23.

before been in arms against Otto; in that warfare he had taken prisoner Henry the King's younger brother, then acting in his brother's service, but who, as we have seen, had a doctrine of his own which gave him a better right than Otto to the crown[1]. Before this, Everhard had been seducing the fidelity of the Lotharingian Duke Gilbert, the common brother-in-law of Otto and Henry. He too has thoughts of a kingdom, perhaps that of the East-Franks itself, perhaps only of an independent Lotharingia. All these personages, we are told in an account which seems to see very deeply into their minds, were trying to overreach one another, and each to make use of the others for his own ends. The captive Henry is set free by Everhard, on a promise to join in rebellion against his brother, in which case both Everhard and Gilbert would accept Henry as their lord, and support his claims to the crown[2]. All this subtle plotting on the part of Everhard is liable to the same doubt as all pictures of the inner workings of other men's minds. He does not take an active part in the revolt till a later stage. But Henry and Gilbert soon appear as waging war against Otto in Lotharingia.

The understanding between Everhard and Henry is undoubted; but it may perhaps throw some doubt on the combined action of Everhard and Gilbert at this stage that Henry's revolt actually broke out, not in Lotharingia but in Saxony[3]. From that land he is counselled, perhaps by friends, perhaps by subtle enemies, to betake himself to Lotharingia, to make that land the chief seat of his enterprise[4], and

[1] On Henry's claim see Appendix, note 9.

[2] Widukind, ii. 11, 12, 13; Liudprand, Ant. iv. 20–23.

[3] Wid. ii. 15.

[4] Widukind's words (ii. 15) are strange and dark; "Fuere tamen multi qui rem celare potius arbitrati sunt, ad hoc tantum, ne rei fraternæ discordiæ invenirentur. Debent tamen consilium, quo facilius bellum solveretur, ut videlicet ipse relinqueret Saxoniam sub præsidio militari et sese inferret Lothariis, generi hominum imbello." One might have thought that this was a suggestion to a hostile attack on Lotharingia. But it must mean a subtle sug-

in Saxony merely to leave garrisons in the places which he held there[1]. In Lotharingia he was joined by Duke Gilbert, who had begun to show open signs of treasonable purposes the year before[2]. King Otto meanwhile is hastening towards the Rhine, and Henry and Gilbert agree to meet him on the banks of the great border-river[3]. In all this there is not a word about Lewis; yet there can be no doubt that this joint action of Gilbert and Henry is the same transaction as one which in the hands of our guide at Rheims puts on quite another look. There we are told that the men of Lotharingia, forsaking their King Otto, betook themselves to Lewis, and offered to transfer their allegiance to him. Such an offer could hardly at that moment have been made without the consent of Henry, and Henry assuredly looked on himself as the rightful king at least of the lands beyond the Rhine. We must suppose therefore that, whatever Everhard or Gilbert planned in their own minds, the avowed platform of Henry and his allies was that the dominions of Otto should be divided, that Lotharingia should pass to Lewis, and that Henry should reign in the Eastern kingdom strictly so called. An offer of so great an addition to his dominions must have had great charms for a King of the West-Franks whose immediate dominions were so small as those of Lewis. But it was an addition which had its dangers as well as its temptations. Lotharingia was not likely to be easily torn away from the grasp of Otto. The young King therefore as yet refrained himself. He declined the offer on the ground of the friendship which he had entered into

gestion from his enemies, not a friendly one from Gilbert. See Appendix, note 9.

[1] Wid. ii. 15. Cont. Reg. 939; "Lotharienses ubi tunc rebellionis summa gerebatur."

[2] Wid. ii. 16. He had, among other things, tampered with the royal seal; "Fertur etiam et regalium literarum sæpius sigilla corrupisse."

[3] Ib. ii. 17; "Decreverunt ad Renum occurrere regi."

with Otto[1]. In the first stage therefore of their struggle, the German enemies of the Eastern king had to wage their warfare against him with the help of their Lotharingian allies, but without any support from Lewis or seemingly from any of the princes of the Western kingdom.

A successful march through Saxony brought Otto to the Rhine, not far from the common march of Saxon, Frisian, and Lotharingian, near the point where the great river, after its long majestic course from south-east to north-west, begins to lose its distinct personal being among the many streams which make their way, some into the Ocean and some into the Frisian Lake. Here on the left bank was Xanthen, representing the old Roman encampment of Vetera. At the point where our detailed account begins, the royal forces have already begun to cross the river in ships; but the King and the greater part of his army are still on the right bank. At that moment Hagen, a follower of Henry whom Otto has won to his side, crosses the river with tidings for the King. He had been sent to Henry with a commission to win him back if possible to his allegiance; if he failed in the attempt, he was at least himself to come back to the King. He now comes; but his greeting to his sovereign is a strange one. "My lord your brother wishes you to be safe and sound and to reign long over a wide dominion. He himself is coming with all speed to your service[2]." The King looks across the stream, and sees a company with banners set up[3] marching towards those of his own men who were

[1] Flod. 939. See Appendix, note 9. It is not very clear what agreement between Otto and Lewis is here referred to.

[2] Wid. ii. 17; "Frater tuus, dominus meus, salvum te et incolumem magno latoque imperio diu regnare exoptat tuumque ad servitium demandat quantocius festinare."

[3] Ib.; "Rege autem interrogante de eo pacem bellumne cogitasset, prospiciens vidit multitudinem nimiam erectis signis tractim procedere et ad sui partem exercitus qui jam Renum transierat tendentem." The grammar is odd; but the nominative to "vidit" must be "rex," made out of "rege interrogante."

already on the left bank. "What means that host?" he asks of Hagen; "is it for peace or war that they come?" The messenger, striving to be loyal at once to his king and to his immediate lord, answers, "Your brother is my lord; if he had hearkened to my counsel, he would have come in another wise; meanwhile I have come to you as I swore to you." We are told that there was no means of crossing the river for lack of ships[1]; why could not those which had taken over the other party have hastened back again? King Otto therefore had nothing to do but to give himself to prayer while his small band were in frightful jeopardy on the other side. He had with him a relic of wonder-working power, the holy lance into which were wrought one or more of the nails which had pierced the hands and feet of the Saviour on the cross[2]. The work, in the first instance, of the Great Constantine, it had passed into the hands of King Rudolf of Burgundy, who had been constrained by frightful threats to hand over the treasure to King Henry of Saxony[3]. From him it had passed to his son with the other treasures of the kingdom. And now Otto, driven unwillingly to play the part of Moses, while that of Joshua fell to others[4], got down from his horse, and knelt, with tears in his eyes, his people around him weeping along with their King, before the hallowed relic, imploring the divine help for his men who were fighting beyond the river[5].

[1] Wid. ii. 17; "Eo quod non adessent naves per quas Renum transcendere posset, et ingens flumen aliud iter non præbebat."

[2] The prayer of Otto is recorded by Widukind (u. s.), but he says simply; "ad Deum supplices expandens manus rex ait." The whole story of the lance comes from Liudprand, Antap. iv. 23-25. The description of the lance, which is anything but clear to the non-technical mind, is given in c. 24. See Ducange in "Lumbus" and "Pollex."

[3] Liud. iv. 24; "Rex Heinricus, quia mollire hunc [Rodulfum] muneribus non potuit, minis terrere magnopere curavit. Omne quippe regnum ejus cæde atque incendiis se depopulaturum esse promisit."

[4] Ib. 23; "Recordatus populi Domini qui repugnantes sibi Amalechites orationibus Moysi servi Dei devicerat."

[5] Ib.; "De equo descendit, seseque cum omni populo lacrimas

Before long it was shown, so the Bishop of Cremona tells us, that the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much[1]. How far the hard fighting on the other side was helped by the prayers of Otto is not for mortals to judge. It is certain that those prayers did not avail to the extent ascribed to them by the Bishop of Cremona. In his tale not a man of the King's forces is slain[2]; the sober Monk of Corbey tells another story. The odds against the Saxons were frightful; only a hundred, perhaps a hundred knights with their followers[3], had landed; they had sent their baggage to Xanthen[4]. Presently they found themselves in face of the far larger army of the rebel princes, with a fishpond between them and their enemies. Small as their force was, they thought it expedient to divide it and to attack the enemy both in front and rear. A cunning device was added. Some of the soldiers of Otto could speak the Romance tongue of Gaul; in that tongue then they raised a loud shout, calling on the followers of Everhard and Henry to flee[5]. They fancied the shout came

fundens ante victoriferos clavos manibus Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi adfixos susque lanceæ impositos in orationem dedit."

[1] Liud. iv. 23; "Quantumque justi viri, secundum beati sententiam Jacobi, tunc valeret oratio, res manifesta probavit."

[2] Ib.; "Cum ex suis nullus occumberet, hostes sunt omnes in fugam conversi."

[3] Wid. ii. 17; "Neque enim nostratium supra centum armatos fuisse perhibetur, adversariorum vero satis magnus exercitus." "Armati" seems equivalent to "milites." Cf. the Greek use of ὁπλῖται.

[4] "Sarcinas et impedimenta quæque transmittunt in locum qui dicitur Xantum," says Widukind. He does not give the name of the actual battle-field, but he implies it when in c. 11 he speaks casually of "Biertamicum bellum." So in the Continuator, 939, it is "juxta Biertamem." Liudprand (iv. 23) gives the name a High-Dutch turn, "locum vocabulo Bierzuni."

[5] Here is a precious notice of language. Widukind (ii. 17) says; "ex nostris etiam fuere qui Gallica lingua ex parte loqui sciebant, qui, clamore in altum Gallice levato, exhortati sunt adversarios ad fugam." This is most strangely turned about by Palgrave (i. 72); "The German Ritterschaft of Otho the Great raised the war-cry in French, and the historians add that they knew the language well."

from their own comrades, and took the advice thus given[1]. Victory was on the side of the loyal hundred; but a bloodless victory it was not. Many were wounded; some were slain; one, Adalbert the Black, died a few days later of a wound given him by the hand of Duke Henry[2]. And Henry himself, according to one version, did not go unscathed. A sword-stroke lighting on his arm was hindered from piercing the flesh by the strength of a threefold coat of mail. But the mere force of the blow made a bruise which no leech's skill could heal. Yearly pains followed, and even, so some thought, led to his death sixteen years later[3]. And men marked that Menicia the slayer of Thankmar, who bore about him the torc stolen from the altar at Heresburg, now paid for his crime by his death[4].

The purpose of Otto was to pursue his rebellious brother and brother-in-law[5]. But Henry, with nine knights only in his train, left Lotharingia for Saxony. He had heard of the falling away of his towns in that land; he went to secure them, and we next hear of him at the other end of the East-Frankish kingdom, besieged by Otto in Merseburg. After two months he surrendered on condition of leaving Saxony[6]. The King had work enough on his Eastern border. The Saxon historian describes the Saxon land as at this moment beset by enemies on every side. There were Slaves to the east, Lotharians to the west, Danes and other Slaves to the north, and Franks—

What it does prove is, first, that the mass of the rebel army spoke French; secondly, that some of the King's army, most likely from the border, also spoke that tongue. See Norman Conquest, i. 619.

[1] Wid. ii. 17; "Illi socios hujusmodi socios hujuscemodi clamasse arbitrati, fugam, ut clamatum est, inierunt."

[2] Wid. u. s.

[3] Liud. iv. 23.

[4] Wid. u. s. Cf. c. 11, where he says; "in Biertamico postea bello vitam cum auro ab altari nequiter rapto miserabiliter perdidit."

[5] Ib. 18; "Regi post victoriam visum est persequi patrem suum generumque."

[6] Ib. 19.

he must mean the rebellious Franks of Everhard—to the south[1]. And it is now that the same historian pronounces his generous panegyric on his Slavonic enemies, too generous for some later German writers to copy in full[2]. No treachery seems to have been too base for the Christian Saxon to practise against the "barbarian," no extremity of the horrors of war too harsh to let loose on his devoted land[3]. "Yet," says the enemy who understood them, "they chose war rather than peace, holding all sufferings light in the balance against their beloved freedom. For they are in truth a hard race of men and enduring of toil; they are wont to live on the poorest fare, and what to our folk seems a heavy burthen the Slaves hold for a kind of delight. So day after day goes on, while the one side strives for glory and wide dominion, and the other takes the risk of freedom and the most grievous bondage[4]." It was counted among the glories of Otto's reign, among the many widenings of his dominion, that a Slavonic chief, Tugumir by name, was led by bribes to betray the stronghold of Brennaburg, a name famous indeed in its later forms till the name of the extinct Prussian so strangely spread itself over the land of the vanquished Slave[5]. Through the treason of Tugumir, the realm of the East-Franks was now extended to the Oder[6].

[1] Wid. ii. 20; "Multos quippe illis diebus Saxones patiebantur hostes, Slavos ab oriente. Francos a meridie, Lotharios ab occidente, ab aquilone Danos itemque Slavosi proptereaque barbari longum trahebant certamen."

[2] See Pinulus, p. 86.

[3] See the story in Widukind, ii. 20.

[4] Ib.; "Ab ipso rege sæpius ductus exercitus eos læsit et in multis afflixit et in ultimam calamitatem perduxit. Illi vero nichilominus bellum quam pacem elegerunt, omnem miseriam caræ libertati postponentes. Est namque hujuscemodi genus hominum durum et laboris patiens, victu levissimo assuetum, et quod nostris gravi oneri esse solet, Slavi pro quadam voluptate ducunt. Transeunt sane dies plurimi, *his pro gloria et pro magno latoque imperio, illis pro libertate et ultima servitute varie certantibus.*"

[5] Ib. 21; "Urbs quæ dicitur Brennaburg."

[6] Ib. 21.

But the king whose banners floated over the Oder had still work to do on the Rhine. Henry, leaving Saxony according to the terms of his capitulation, presently showed himself again in Lotharingia. He again joined himself to Gilbert[1], and it was seemingly at this stage that the enemies of Otto made a second appeal to Lewis with greater success. A good deal meanwhile had been going on in Lewis's own kingdom, which seemingly had something to do with greater events, though it is not easy to trace the connexion. Count Arnulf of Flanders was waging a border-war with his neighbour Herlwin of Montreuil. The land of Ponthieu, lying between Arnulf's dominions and the land of the Normans, a land which grew rich by its trade beyond the sea, was a possession for which Arnulf greatly longed[2]. Among the defenders of Montreuil was one whom Arnulf thought, and thought truly, to be capable of being won over to treacherous dealing. Agents of the Count were sent in disguise, who, by the symbolic display of a gold and an iron ring, brought home to his mind how much profit might be gained by submission to Arnulf, how hard a case was likely to come on those who withstood him[3]. Promises and oaths were exchanged, and a day for the betrayal of Montreuil was agreed upon. On the appointed day, just as the sun had set, the Count of Flanders, with a force of picked men, appeared before the town[4]. The traitor had sent out some men on this or that pretended

[1] Wid. ii. 22. See Appendix, Note 9.

[2] Richer, ii. 11; "Suæ parti addere cogitans, eo quod ex navium advectationibus plures questus proveniant, adipiscendi insidias componebat."

[3] Flodoard's (939) whole account is; "Castellum Erluini maritimum quod vocatur Monasteriolum comes Arnulfus, tradente quodam proditore, cepit." The details come from Richer, ii. 11, 12. The traitor ("quidam ejus oppidi custos") at first "hærebet ergo stupens. Proponit sibi tandem proditionis dedecus ea posse necessitate purgari, quod omnes oppidanos in proximo aut exulaturos aut morituros sibi innotuit."

[4] Richer, ii. 12; "Arnulfus itaque militum electorum copiam colligit, facinus quæsitum patraturus."

errand. He stood on the wall with a blazing torch to give them light. But the torch also guided Arnulf to the open gate of Montreuil. The town was won; Herlwin escaped in disguise; his wife and children fell into the hands of Arnulf. Montreuil received a Flemish garrison and Arnulf went home again. For the wife and children of Herlwin a strange prison or shelter was found. King Æthelstan was a kinsman of the Count of Flanders; each was a grandson of Ælfred. Arnulf sent his prisoners beyond sea to the keeping of his West-Saxon cousin[1].

But the despoiled Herlwin was not without a powerful protector. He betook himself to the prince of the Normans. The bitterest enemy of William and his race forbears his usual epithet of hatred when the Duke shows himself as the avenger of the oppressed[2]. Herlwin told his tale; he specially enlarged on the loss of his wife and children[3]. He prayed for Norman help to win them back. The help was given; a powerful Norman force marched with Herlwin to the recovery of Montreuil. The town was stormed; the garrison of Arnulf fell into the hands of Herlwin. Some were slain; some were kept as hostages for his wife and children[4]. Herlwin was again master of Montreuil; but Arnulf sent bands to harry the whole Ponthevin land up to its gates. The spoilers were going

[1] Flod. 939; "Uxorem ipsius Erluini trans mare cum filiis ad Alstanum regem mittit." Richer, u. s.; "Erluini uxorem cum natis Ædelstano regi Anglorum servandos trans mare deportat."

[2] Richer now (ii. 13) calls him "Wilelmus princeps Nortmannorum."

[3] Richer, u. s.; "De oppidi amissione pro se adeo affici, cum id sine spe aliqua recuperandi non sit, eo quod terra immobilis, ac oppidum intransitivum sit. Uxoris vero ac filiorum privatio, calamitatem interminabilem prætendere videntur," &c.

[4] Flod. 939; "Nec longum collecta Nortmannorum non modica manu, Erluinus castrum pugnando recepit, et ex militibus Arnulfi quos intus invenit, nonnullos interemit, quosdam vero propter uxorem recipiendam reservavit." So Richer, who (cc. 13, 14) tells the story at great length; "alios gladio execat, alios uxori natisque repetendis conservat."

off with their prey when messengers from Herlwin came to bid them choose between giving back the spoil or making ready for instant battle. No answer was made; presently Herlwin with four hundred knights was upon them, and he soon went back to Montreuil with his own recovered goods and with the spoil of his enemies as well[1].

The important part of this story of Herlwin is that it brings in the Norman duke and the English king. We are not surprised at finding Æthelstan the ally of his kinsman Arnulf, especially when Arnulf was on good terms with Æthelstan's nearer kinsman King Lewis; we are a little surprised at finding him acting something like the part of a gaoler to the wife and children of Herlwin. Yet if it was wished to find a place where they would suffer no harm themselves and could do no harm to others, the court of the West-Saxon king might be better chosen than any spot in Gaul. But the entry becomes more puzzling when we come to Æthelstan's next appearance in Gaulish affairs. This was very soon after, but not till things had taken a memorable turn. All of a sudden Lewis becomes the ally of the revolted Lotharingians, the enemy of Otto and the enemy, not only of Hugh of Paris and William of Rouen, but of Arnulf himself, so lately his friend and their enemy. With the opening of the month of June Hugh's truce with the King came to an end. It must have been about the same time that the chief men of Lotharingia, Duke Gilbert himself, Count Otto of Verdun, Count Isaac of Cambray, branded by the Church as a spoiler of the neighbouring bishoprics[2], and another Count Theodoric—by that time most likely either a Thierry or a Dirk—came to King Lewis at Laon, rebuked him for his inattention to their former appeal, commended them-

[1] Richer, ii. 15; "Prædis receptis cum ingentibus hostium manubiis."

[2] The names come from Flodoard; "proceres ipsius regni, Gislebertus scilicet dux et Otto Isaac, atque Theodoricus comites."

selves to him as their lord, and promised to help him against his enemies by land and sea[1]. Even now, it would seem, the West-Frankish king did not throw himself heartily into their schemes. He made to them every profession of good will, and bade them come again, if the course of things should make his help needful. Meanwhile he kept a careful look-out on his neighbours. In June we find him, in company with his Burgundian friend Hugh the son of Richard, on the very border of his kingdom, in the oak-wood by Douzy, just on his own side of the Lotharingian frontier. Here, at Richard's prayer, he makes grants to the famous abbey of Cluny in the land of Auxerre. We cannot think that the King and his friend were drawn to a spot so well suited for a Lotharingian outlook either by the sports of the oak-wood or by zeal for the church of Cluny. At the beginning of August Lewis was again at Laon, signing a charter confirming the act of a very distant vassal, one over whom we fancy him exercising but small authority, namely the foundation of the monastery of St. Pontius at Tomieres by Count Raymond of Toulouse[2]. Between the signatures of these two documents events of no small moment had happened.

The Lotharingian lords had promised Lewis their help by land and sea. It is not easy to see who were Lewis's seafaring enemies, unless the reference is to those who held the coasts of the sea between Gaul and Britain. That is to say, unless Hugh of Paris, set free from the obligations of the truce, was not only plotting with his old allies of Normandy and Vermandois, but had already drawn Arnulf of Flanders himself into a momentary alliance. It must have been with an eye to dangers from this quarter that an English fleet sent by Æthelstan to the help of his nephew appeared off the coast of Flanders. Its coming was perhaps a little later than this time; but the object

[1] Flod. 939; "Lotharienses iterum veniunt ad regem Ludovicum et proceres . . . eidem se regi committunt."

[2] Cf. Bouquet, vol. ix. p. 591.

of its coming is distinctly said to have been to defend Lewis against the masters of the coast, who could be no other than William and Arnulf, the momentary allies. Any friendship between the King of the English and his cousin of Flanders would give way to the nearer tie which bound him to his sister's son at Laon. If Arnulf became the enemy of Lewis, Æthelstan would become the enemy of Arnulf. And it is certain that, before long, whether before the coming of the English fleet or not, William and Arnulf, Hugh and Herbert had all of them the best of opportunities for bringing their plans of treason to perfection.

King Otto had then many enemies. But his late successes on the eastern border of his kingdom enabled the East-Frankish king to march a second time to put down the hostile movements west of the Rhine. The campaign was more fruitful in diplomatic than in military successes. His chief aim was directed against Gilbert. The Duke's lands were wasted and burned; he was himself besieged in the castle of Chèvremont hard by Liège, a castle which is said to have taken its name from the strength of its position on a hill which seemed fitter for goats to climb than men. Gilbert escaped from his stronghold, and the siege went on with no great profit to the besiegers. But it was most likely while Otto lay before Chèvremont that the four greatest princes of the Western kingdom north of the Loire, Hugh of France, William of Normandy, Herbert of Vermandois, and their new ally, Arnulf of Flanders, came to Otto, sware oaths to him, and seemingly became his men. They at all events became his allies in his warfare with their own king. Their action balances that of the Lotharingian leaders when they just before commended themselves to Otto. But with their usual inconstancy of conduct, they seem to have done nothing against Lewis at this particular moment, much as some of them did against him both before and afterwards. After this meeting with the great men of the West, the Eastern king did

little but lay waste the border-land. He could not take Chèvremont; he therefore crossed the Rhine and went back to Saxony. But he won over to his side a vassal of Gilbert's named Immo, who is said to have played off many ingenious tricks upon his former lord. "With Immo on my side," said the Duke, "I easily caught all the Lotharingians; now, with all the Lotharingians on my side, I cannot catch Immo."

The two kings of East and West can hardly be looked on as other than enemies when each is receiving the submission of each other's vassals. But neither has as yet directly attacked the other; and at no time do the two seem to have actually encountered one another. As far as we can make out, while Otto was harrying in Lotharingia, Lewis was simply looking out from Douzy. When Otto had gone back the second time, and when Lewis had reason to look for powerful help within the Eastern kingdom itself, then Lewis for the first time makes his way into Lotharingia and into lands beyond Lotharingia. In the more sober of the two Western versions, Lewis now, after the withdrawal of Otto, some time, we may suppose, in August, sets forth from Laon. He enters the land of Verdun, and there he receives the allegiance of some of the Lotharingian bishops. Later associations must not be allowed to mislead; the Lotharingia of that day contained many bishoprics besides the familiar three, one of which the Western king had now reached. We are told that these prelates had taken no share in the embassy of the lay princes because Otto had hostages of theirs in his power. This fact, compared with their present change of action, whether voluntary or constrained by the coming of Lewis, ought to mean a great deal; but we have unluckily no means of fixing with any certainty what it does mean. In any case Lewis advanced successfully from Lotharingia into the undoubted Eastern kingdom; he entered Elsass, which he perhaps looked on as an old possession of Lotharingia; he even crossed the Rhine, and

occupied the strong island fortress of Breisach on the right bank of the river. There he had a conference with a certain Hugh described as *Cisalpinus*, which is, to say the least, a remarkably confusing way of describing him, if he be the well-known Burgundian partisan of Lewis, who appears just after by his two usual surnames, as the son of Richard and as the Black. At Breisach many more of the Lotharingians submitted to him, and he at least professed to have driven all the supporters of Otto out of Lotharingia, perhaps out of Elsass also. This done, he went back as a conqueror to Laon. The fame of the exploits of Lewis reached his uncle in England, how he had passed victoriously into Germany, and how none of those who might have been dangerous to him on the northern coast were now in arms against him. And certainly there is no hint that any of the Western princes who had plighted their faith to Otto had done any active service for their new lord or ally. On hearing these tidings Æthelstan recalled his fleet from the Gaulish coast, where it had seemingly done nothing except lay waste some parts of the shore of Flanders.

Of all this vigorous action on the part of Lewis we hear not a word in the purely German writers; but they supply us with a fact equally unnoticed at Rheims, which goes a long way to explain the Western king's success. Up to this time Duke Everhard, the brother of King Conrad, had taken no active part in the wars of Lotharingia. He had plotted largely, he had encouraged Henry in revolt; but he had done no fighting in that part of the world. We now see him in arms in concert with Gilbert. The way in which his doings are spoken of by the Saxon writer is a little dark. He and Gilbert, we are told, not satisfied with the Western kingdom, went on with an army to harry the lands of the Rhine. We are also significantly told, without any reference to King Lewis, that Breisach, which King Otto had presently to besiege, was a fortress within Everhard's government. In another writer on the

German side we get a picture of Breisach on its peninsular site in the river, of the strength of its position, and how it was now occupied by Everhard with a great force, which cruelly oppressed King Otto's subjects in the lands round about. Here is not a word about Lewis; the only hint from the east of the Rhine implying that the Western king and his kingdom had anything to do with the matter is the dark saying about the dissatisfaction of Everhard. That single reference to the Western kingdom is in itself simply unintelligible; it gets a meaning only from the accounts of the Western writers. Putting Eastern and Western reports together, and comparing both with the version from Lotharingia itself, we are fully justified in saying that the expedition into Elsass was a joint expedition of Lewis and Everhard. It was the treasure of Everhard which put Lewis in possession of Breisach. And Henry was doubtless with them, as he clearly was in Lotharingia at the time.

The objects of the men who were thus confederate against Otto in the East were no more likely to lead to any lasting alliance among them than the objects of the men who were confederate against Lewis in the West. Each had his own separate ambition. Henry, claiming the crown of the Eastern kingdom as his own, was ready to purchase the support of the Western king and his partisans in Lotharingia by a surrender of the border-land to him. Gilbert may well have thought that he would be greater in Lotharingia as a vassal of the weaker than of the stronger king. He may perhaps have dreamed of a separate Lotharingian kingdom for himself. It is even whispered that he hoped to overthrow Otto by the help of Henry, and then, a Frank instead of any Saxon, to reign himself over the Frankish kingdom which his brother had held. The story went that, one day at this stage of his career, he told his wife in a moment of fondness, that she should exchange the arms of a count for the arms of a king. He hoped to use both Henry and Gilbert for

his own purposes; if we had any narrative which contained the names both of Lewis and Everhard, we should be doubtless told that he used Lewis for his own purposes also. He might perhaps have endured to see the West-Frankish king master of Chèvremont; he could not have wished for him at Breisach otherwise than as a guest.

The joint acts of Everhard and Lewis, the invasion of Elsass by the Western king, the treacherous welcome given to him by the East-Frankish duke, more deeply wounded Otto as a German king than anything that had happened in Lotharingia. Yet Elsass itself had once counted as part of the Lotharingian realm; and the one Lotharingian writer, the Monk of Trier, while thoroughly loyal to Otto, does not keep out of sight the fact that Lewis had at least something which might look like a case in his own eyes. "Lewis, the King of Roman Gaul, the son of Charles, by the advice of the King's enemies and under the pretence of demanding the kingdom which his father had lost, invaded Elsass, where, to the best of his power, he did all that he did as an enemy rather than as a king." To the most pronounced writers on the Western side, it seems a little presumptuous that Otto should make any claim to Lotharingia at all. "The King, having had a talk in the land of Elsass with the Cisalpine Prince Hugh, drew to himself the more distant among the Belgians who had not yet come in to him, and those who took the part of Otto he constrained to flee beyond the Rhine. For he had known beforehand that Otto would wish to bring Belgica under his own power, a thing which he could never calmly put up with. He set forth therefore the more fiercely against him, and drove his partisans out of the kingdom." As the purely Saxon account does not bring in Lewis at all, except by a dark reference to his kingdom, he has nothing that we can bring into direct comparison with these pictures of things as they looked at Trier and at Rheims.

When we last heard of Otto, he had gone back to Saxony

after his second Lotharingian expedition. His troops, it would seem, had all this while been besieging Chèvremont in vain. He now in the autumn came in person, seemingly with no large force; he raised the siege of Chèvremont and betook himself to the more important attack of Breisach. The siege, we are told, was marked by many gallant exploits on both sides. But we are left uncertain whether we are to reckon any exploit on so great a scale as the driving out of the Western king by the Eastern. The language of more than one writer would most naturally make us think so. That of our guides at Rheims would rather make us think that Lewis, from whatever motive, had gone back to Laon before Otto showed himself in Lotharingia. The Eastern king heard that the Belgians had fallen away from him and had embraced the cause of Lewis. To assert his rights—fancied rights they were deemed at Rheims—he crossed the Rhine into Belgium; he laid waste the land and went back beyond the Rhine again with much plunder. But before this happened, Lewis, it would seem, had been called to Laon by treason in his own royal city. Its Bishop Rudolf was plotting against him; his guilt was clearly proved, and Lewis drove him and his adherents out of Laon. It is therefore most likely that Otto did not find Lewis to besiege in Breisach. It has even been hinted that the report of Otto's coming had something to do with his withdrawal from the peninsula in the Rhine to his own hill-city.

Otto, according to one picture, came into the Belgian land simply as a plunderer. In another, drawn by a devoted admirer, we see him march from Saxony to Breisach, not to seek anything for himself, but to redress the wrongs which his people underwent at the hands of Everhard and his garrison. On such a charitable errand as this he was fittingly accompanied by several of the chief bishops of his realm. Among them their head Frederick of Mainz is specially mentioned, and Rothard of Strassburg. Of the virtues of Frederick a glowing picture is given at a time

a little earlier, and we are told that he was now specially zealous in working for the restoration of peace. But bishops and kings did not find it easy to agree in the Eastern kingdom any more than in the Western. Our Saxon guide speaks with bated breath of the differences between the great chiefs of Church and State. The Archbishop had, either at an earlier stage of Everhard's rebellion or while the siege of Breisach was actually going on, been sent by Otto to strive to make some terms between the King and the Frankish duke. The Archbishop went beyond the bounds of his commission; he pledged himself on oath to terms which the King refused to confirm. Otto told him, seemingly with some sharpness, that he was not bound to take any heed to engagements made without his authority. On this Frederick took fire. He left his tent before Breisach by night; he persuaded Rothard and other bishops to do the like and to betake themselves to the fellowship of the rebels. No small fear was there in the King's small army when the flight of the prelates, accompanied, it would seem, by that of others in the army, was known before Breisach. Many called on the King to withdraw. Otto is set before us, like another Judas Maccabeus, as scorning such advice, and, in a magnanimous and pious discourse, bidding those who were fighting for the right, few as they might be, to put their trust in God. A count in the King's service, who had brought a large contingent to his army, thought now was the time to get something for himself. He asked by messengers for a grant of the famous abbey of Lauresheim, home of Einhard. Otto, dove and serpent in one, bade him come and ask in person. He came; the pious King set forth the heinousness of the proffered sacrilege, and the Count fell at his feet, confessing his sin.

Meanwhile the rebel Archbishop went first for a moment to his own primatial city. Thence he went on to a general meeting of the rebel lords and prelates at Metz. There it was arranged that Everhard—who must before this have

left Breisach—should go beyond the Rhine, to beat back, as they hoped, a force that was coming against them, and that, when they came back, all the rebel leaders should unite their forces for a general attack on the King before Breisach. It is perfectly plain that in all this King Lewis had no hand.

§ 5. *The Crowning of Otto.* 962.

The acquisition of the Imperial Crown by Otto was an event outside the bounds of the West-Frankish realm; but it deeply touched the relations of the West-Frankish realm, as of every other realm in Europe. The new German Augustus, first of a long line indeed of German Augusti, carries back our thoughts to the first German Augustus of all. Charles and Otto, the two among the whole line of Teutonic Cæsars to whom posterity has decreed the name of Great, seem at first sight to stand out, the one as the founder, the other as the restorer, of that new form of dominion in which it was said that the Empire of Rome passed from the Greeks to the Franks. And from one side such a view is true. The career of Otto implies the career of Charles. If we could conceive Charles as dying simply King and Patrician without his Imperial coronation, we can hardly conceive the thoughts of such a coronation presenting itself to the mind of any later Frankish king. A peculiar relation of things in East and West made the elevation of Charles seem, in Western eyes at least, perfectly natural. The Empire was vacant; the New Rome had no lawful Emperor; the Old Rome filled the vacant place by the choice of her virtual master, the sovereign, we might almost say, of all Western Christendom. The conscience of the West could be satisfied with the belief that the first Charles reigned as the successor of the sixth Constantine. In the days of the first Otto there was no such opening. The whole position of Charles rested on the fact that he had no Western predecessor. The position of Otto implied

that he had many Western predecessors. Charles, if he did not absolutely create a new thing in the world, so translated and changed an old one as to make it practically new. Otto only took possession of an existing thing, and gave it new dignity, new life, and in some sort a new purpose. In the year 800 the choosing and crowning of an emperor in the Old Rome was a new and daring thought. In 962 all Western Christendom held that there should be an emperor crowned in the Old Rome. The vacancy was in the Old Rome, not in the New. Otto simply stepped into the place that stood ready for him, and stepped into it, not only in his own name, but in the name of a long line of successors the last of whom many still living can remember.

Between the position of Charles and the position of Otto lay all the differences that came of the break-up of the dominion of Charles. The elevation of Charles was the bestowal of the Empire of Rome on a Teutonic king. So the elevation of Otto. But the elevation of Charles was the elevation of the one Teutonic king of the Christian mainland. The elevation of Otto was the elevation of one Teutonic king out of several. Charles was one king of the Franks, save so far as he had made his own sons under-kings. Otto was but one of the many kings among whom the dominion of Charles had been parted out. He was doubtless the first among them; all were under his influence; some were formally his men. Still he was only one king among several. He might be acknowledged as the overlord of Berengar in the Italian kingdom; that was another thing from Charles giving the Italian kingdom to his own son. Charles was a Teutonic king in the fullest sense, Teutonic in blood, speech, and feeling. But the king who ruled from the Spanish to the Danish march was not German in any controversial sense. He spoke German and Latin, German as the natural speech of his own people, Latin as the official speech of the King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans. But Otto was not only a Teutonic king, but a local and national German

king. He was German in a controversial sense, king of a local German kingdom, king of the German Franks as opposed to the Latin Franks. He spoke his native tongue; he spoke also the foreign tongues which prevailed on either side of him; the Imperial tongue he knew not, even as Emperor. With Charles the lord of the whole West was clothed with the Imperial dignity. Under his immediate successors, the Imperial dignity became a prize open to all of them, a prize that might fall to the lot of the king of any of the local kingdoms. Kings of the Eastern and the Western *Francia*, kings of Italy and of Provence, had all received the Imperial crown at Rome. With Otto that crown became the lasting possession of one among those kingdoms; till German kings and Roman Cæsars both passed away, it was ruled that the German king alone had the right to be the Roman Cæsar. The sounding verses themselves may be the forgery of a later age; but they none the less set forth an abiding truth of eight hundred years.

This new conception of the Empire, not as the highest aspect of the one sovereign of the West, not as a dignity open to all the sovereigns of the West, but as a dignity and a substantial dominion attached for ever to the realm of one of those sovereigns, altogether changed its character as regarded the other kingdoms. The Italian kingdom became, from Otto onwards, an appendage to the German kingdom. Presently the Burgundian kingdom did the like. Western Francia, Karolingia, France, alone remained. The homage due to Arnulf and to Otto was never reserved to any German king, and assuredly it was never renewed to any Roman Emperor. The natural rivalry between the East and the West Franks was sharpened into the rivalry between Germany and France. It was sharpened further into a keener rivalry between a France which was the only kingdom which clave to the old Frankish titles and a Germany whose king as such became King of Italy and Burgundy and sole claimant of the crown of the

Cæsars. The splitting asunder of the year 888 led naturally to the jealousies and wars of our own time. If ever other matters of strife should fail, the border-lands, the middle lands, the two Lotharingias and all the Burgundies, stood ever ready to supply them.

As to the wisdom of the act which has made the name of Otto famous it is idle to speak. It is as idle to discuss it as it is to discuss the wisdom of the Imperial coronation of Charles or of the recovery of Africa and Italy by Justinian. To us, with the experience of nine hundred years, looking on Germany and Italy as national kingdoms, rejoicing at their union in our own day as national kingdoms, no scheme could seem more hopeless than that of uniting the kingdoms of Germany and Italy under a single sovereign. We are inclined to say that it was the attempt at an impossible union of the two kingdoms which did more than anything else to make each of them within itself a divided kingdom. The common sovereign could not rule as a true king in either kingdom; and the Emperor, Lord of the World, became clothed with an ideal greatness which made him practically unable to rule in any kingdom. We might in some sort say that it is the act of Otto which Victor Emmanuel the King and William the Emperor have undone before our own eyes. But this is not the way in which history should be looked at. We must trace out effects and causes with the eyes of our own day; we must look at actions with the eyes of the days when they were done. In Otto's day the thought of Empire, the transcendent greatness of the Augustus crowned at Rome, was a matter of belief which was not to be gainsaid.

That thought lived on for ages. It is easy to prove that the thought was an unreal one; that is, it is easy to prove that the Empire of Otto was very unlike the Empire of Trajan. But a thought is not unreal, it becomes a very real and a very mighty fact, when it is seen to be the central thought of successive ages, a thought for which

men are ready to toil and strive and die. And in Otto's day too the tradition of a certain measure of unity among the various parts of the severed Frankish dominion had not wholly passed away. The Imperial crown might still seem to be the fitting prize of the mightiest and worthiest among the Frankish princes. In the eyes of Otto the journey to Pavia and to Rome would not seem as the union of the German and Italian crowns, but as the rightful and formal exaltation of himself, as the highest and worthiest, to the highest place among them. To him the crown of Empire came as the highest point of a long series of gradual promotions. While he had as yet bore no Imperial title, he had made for himself an Imperial position among his fellows; he might already have deemed himself *Basileus* among surrounding *Reges*; it seemed but right and fitting that a King of kings should become in form *Imperator*, Cæsar, and Augustus. To win such a place for his kingdom, his nation, his own house; to sit on the throne of the Western world, as the first of Saxon Cæsars, to hand on his crown to a line, if not of Saxon, at least of German successors, was to him, in his place, the object of a simple and natural ambition. A man who could see the whole course of future history beforehand might perhaps have put aside the dazzling gift that offered itself; but assuredly none other. A Saxon king of such prophetic vision may perhaps have been satisfied to rule Germany from a Saxon home and to guard his duchy and his realm against the Slave and the Northman. And yet, if no attempt had been made to unite the crowns of Germany and Italy on a single brow, it may well be that the elements of disunion in the two kingdoms would have prevailed to split them in sunder without Imperial help. If the rivalry between the Latin and the Teutonic Frank had not been made keener by the raising of the Teutonic Frank to Imperial honours, it might still have been enough to keep Western Europe in a flame. It may even be that the bitterness between two contending kings of the Franks might have been fiercer

still than when the East-Frankish king, grown into *Romanorum Imperator*, was satisfied to leave to his Western rival, the one abiding *Rex Francorum*, the seeming inheritance of the Frankish name. In any case the mediæval theory of Empire, if a theory which could not be carried out in practice, was a grand and ennobling thought; and never surely was it embodied in a nobler form than when Saxon Otto, kinsman of our own stock, lifted up the crown of Rome from its degradation under the fleeting kings and Cæsars that were before him. And if we look at him and his act with the eyes of his own age, we cannot blame him that he made the crown of the world the inheritance of his own people, that he set up for a life of nine hundred years the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation[1].

[1] The exact date at which the Empire put on its official holiness does not concern my purpose. It is enough that Otto gave the Empire a new life and a new form, and that with him it became German in a sense in which it was not German under the Karlings.

APPENDIX.

CHANGE OF DYNASTY, ETC.

NOTE 1, p. 47.

THE CONSULSHIP OFFERED TO CHARLES MARTEL.

I HAVE in the text gone at some length into the narratives of the messages sent by Pope Gregory the Third to Charles Martel, asking for help against Liudprand and offering Charles the Roman consulship. The two accounts are those of the Continuator of Fredegar, and the Moissac annalist followed by him of Metz. There are also the two letters of Gregory to Charles the "subregulus," as he calls him; but they say nothing about the consulship.

If I am right in the view that I take of the whole relations between the Emperors, the Popes, and the Frankish kings at this time, there is one wide difference between the offer of the consulship which Charles refused and the offer of the patriciate which Pippin accepted. The proposal of Gregory implied an open throwing off of the Imperial authority, while the proposal of Stephen did not. I shall hereafter discuss the exact relations between Constantine, Stephen, and Pippin; the distinction which I have just drawn is enough for my present purpose. Now if Gregory the Third did propose an open revolt against the Empire, this puts him in a different position from the Popes both before and after him, and marks a difference between his policy and theirs. And that he did so seems clear. I can get no other meaning out of the words of the Continuator of Fredegar, 110, "eo pacto patrato ut a partibus imperatoris recederet et Romanum consulatum præfato principi Carolo sanciret." This seems to be the reading of the manuscripts, and it makes a perfectly good sense. The other readings, "ad partes imperatoris recederet" or "accederet," seem to have no authority, and they make nonsense. They seem to go on the notion that the nominative to "recederet" is Charles,

and that Charles is asked to come to the help of the Emperor against the Lombards. This was so far praiseworthy on the part of the old editors, that they understood, more clearly than many later scholars, that a Pope might possibly ask a prince of the Franks to come to the help of the Emperor. But "recederet" and "sanciret" must have the same nominative; the nominative to "sanciret" can only be the Pope; so "recederet" must name something which can be said of the Pope too. Ruinhart restored the right text, which makes perfectly good sense, and he showed that he thoroughly understood the case;

"At, ni fallor, melior est nostra lectio, quæ est MSS., qua auctor innuit Gregorium Carolo pollicitum fuisse, ut si Romanos a Langobardorum tyrannide liberaret, *posthabita imperatoris qui Italiæ opem non ferebat dominatione*, se Carolo Romanum consulatum collaturum."

The modern note of Breysig (97) is equally clear, and yet more creditable, as a modern scholar has to struggle against talk about "Greeks of the Lower Empire" and the like, which did not affect the old editors to whom an emperor was an emperor. Gregorovius (ii. 249) is equally clear; but he is not so always. Luden (iv. 478), so excellent a little later, is here misled by the wrong reading; but he knew what an Emperor was. Hegel (Geschichte der Städteverfassung, i. 207) seems to see in the offered consulship only the "Schutzherrschaft von Rom," yet he reads "regum" for "rogum."

The words of the Moissac writer (Pertz, i. 292) make the meaning of the Continuator quite plain. He says, evidently with the Continuator before him, "quo pacto patrato, sese populus Romanus, *relicto imperatore Græcorum et dominatione*, ad prædicti principis defensionem et invictam ejus clementiam convertere cum voluissent." This of course points to a way of looking at things later than the year 800; but it is to be noticed that the Metz annalist leaves out about "Greeks," and says simply "relicta imperatoris dominatione."

In the Life of Gregory in the series attributed to Anastasius the text, as printed in Muratori (iii. pt. 1, p. 160) leaves out the whole matter. Two readings in the notes dimly and awkwardly bring in the mission to Charles. They give us the names of the envoys, the Bishop Anastasius and the Presbyter

Sergius; but they merely say that it was to ask for help against the Lombards; they say nothing of the result and not a word about the consulship.

That Charles either actually refused the Pope's offer or put him off in some way which came to the same thing is, I think, clear from the fact that the Frankish writers speak emphatically of the embassy which Charles sent to the Pope with an answer, but do not tell us what the answer was. Thus the Continuator (110) says, "Ipse itaque princeps, mirifico et magnifico honore ipsam legationem recepit, munera preciosa contulit, atque cum magnis praemiis cum suis sodalibus missis Grimonem abbatem Corbeiensis monasterii et Sigibertum reclusum basilicæ sancti Dionysii martyris Romam ad limina sancti Petri et sancti Pauli destinavit." He at once goes off to the division of the kingdom. The Moissac writer first records the reception and sending back of the papal envoys; "ipse his omnibus cum gaudio et gratiarum actione Domino repensis ipsam legationem cum magnis muneribus Romae remisit." The mission of Grimo and Sigeberht might seem to come a little later; "posthæc elegit viros religiosos ex suis fidelibus,' &c. Then comes the fact of the answer; "ac per eos omnia in responsis, *quæ sibi et populo Francorum visa fuerunt*, præsuli scriptum remandavit." Metz leaves out the action of the "populus Francorum." If the letter was read at the Marchfield of 740, one would think that it ought to have received a clear answer of Yea or Nay, and perhaps it did. The fact that the nature of the answer is left out is odd in any case; but, if the answer was a practical Nay, however civilly veiled, it is perhaps intelligible that those who wrote after Charles's son had taken the exactly opposite course might not feel called on to enlarge upon it.

There is a Dissertation "de Karoli Martelli Patriciatu, qui vocatur, sive Consulatu Romano," by Hermann Veltman (Münster, 1863). It is full of references, as becomes a dissertation, and the writer clearly sees that Charles Martel did not accept the office that was offered to him. He takes some trouble over the passage in the Divisio Imperii, 806 (Pertz, Legg. i. 142), where Charles the Great exhorts his sons to take up the "defensio ecclesiæ sancti Petri," "sicut quondam ab avo nostro Karolo et beatæ memoriæ genitore nostro Pipino rege, et a nobis postea suscepta est." Surely the great Emperor is simply speaking

a little vaguely. The connexion between the rulers of the Franks and the Roman see undoubtedly began under Charles Martel, and to a dutiful grandson this might seem to amount to a "defensio ecclesiæ," though Charles the Hammer never crossed the Alps, and, I feel pretty sure, never thought of crossing them.

M. Gasquet (L'Empire Byzantin, et la Monarchie Franque, 233) seems thoroughly to understand the relations to the Emperor, but he does not rightly distinguish between "patrician" and consul." And strange to say, he speaks of Breysig as adopting the false reading of the passage in the Continuator, "ad partes imperatus." Breysig (see above, p. 356) does the exact opposite. M. Gasquet's way of quoting is, "M. Bouquet cite l'opinion de Veltman, *de Karoli Martelli patriciatu*, et de Breysig, *Karl Martel*." I do not know what M. Bouquet quotes, but it is odd, in writing about Charles Martel, not to read out Breysig for oneself.

In the absence of any other means of knowing what Gregory meant to offer under the name of the consulship, one has nothing to do but to assume that the possible consulship of Charles and the actual patriciate of Pippin meant much the same thing. Only there is the difference from which we started, that one implied revolt against the Empire and the other did not. Now "consul" was the most natural title in the one case and "patrician" in the other. "Patrician" was a title in every-day use, and most distinctly implied a commission from the Emperor. If the Emperor was to be supplanted gradually and silently, it was by a patrician that he could best be supplanted. A consul was another matter. The ordinary consulship had gone out of use; the name might be sometimes given to an exarch, a στρατηγός, or a doge (see Liber Diurnus. i. tit. 3 for the formula of addressing a consul); but its most familiar use was when the Emperor assumed the consulship on his accession and events were dated by the years "post consulatum ejus." It had therefore something august and Imperial about it; something of that kind had attached to it as early as Chlodowig's day before the ordinary consulship was abolished. It did much better than "patrician" to serve the objects of a Pope who proposed "a partibus imperatoris recedere." On the other hand the consul suited his purposes

better than a king or a rival emperor would have done. "Carolus Augustus" or "Carolus rex" might claim a direct authority over Rome and its Bishop which would not be convenient. Consul and patrician were vague titles; their holder might be kept at a distance, stepping in when he was needed as a protector, not constantly meddling in the character of a direct ruler. As far as the Popes themselves and the Roman Church and Roman Republic of which they were always talking were concerned, what they wanted was somebody who would keep everybody else out and not greatly thrust himself in. Either a patrician or a consul would do for this. Only the name patrician implied that the Imperial authority was in name to be kept on; the name consul did not necessarily imply that the Imperial authority was to be cast off; but it was consistent with such a purpose.

The difference between "consul" and "patricius," the *quasi*-Imperial character of the one, the emphatically non-Imperial character of the other, comes out very well in the practice of Charles the Great himself. Einhard (Ann. 801) specially notes that, after his Roman crowning, he was "*omisso Patricii nomine* Imperator et Augustus appellatur." But, just like his predecessor at Constantinople, the Emperor, no longer Patrician, dates by his consulship (see Ducange in *Consul*).

NOTE 2, p. 53.

SWANAHILD AND GRIFO.

THE view that we take of the last days of the life of Charles Martel and of the first days of his successors must depend largely on the amount of faith which we give to this part of the Metz Annals. They had been generally looked down upon for a long time; but Hahn (Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs, 741–752) puts a good deal of faith in them, and Ranke has come powerfully to their help in the discourse *Zur Analyse der Annales Mettenses* in the fifth volume of his Weltgeschichte. The older and smaller Annals seem to take no notice of the dispute between Grifo and his elder brothers, nor is there any mention of it in the Continuator of Fredegar or in the Annales

Laurissenses. It comes out very prominently both in Einhard and in the Metz Annals, which are the two accounts which we must compare. Two questions arise; what was the exact position of Swanahild and her son Grifo, and did Charles Martel make more than one division of the Frankish dominions between his sons?

Five sons and a daughter of Charles Martel may be set down as ascertained. His two famous sons and successors, Karlmann and Pippin, and their sister Chiltrudis, wife of Duke Odilo of Bavaria and mother of Tassilo, were clearly children of one mother; but it is somewhat singular that we have no certain notice of their mother's name. In the Annales Laureshamenses et Nazariani (Pertz, i. 24, 25) there is an entry, "Hortrudis (or Hrottrudis) mortua." So in Petaviani (i. 9), "Chrotrudis moritur." From this entry it was long ago inferred by Eckhart that this Chrotrudis was the wife of Charles Martel, though he is a little over-positive when he says that the Annals just quoted "annotant Hrotrudem Karoli principis conjugem rebus humanis excessisse." For it is nowhere said that she was the wife of Charles nor is it said who was the mother of Karlmann and Pippin, but the inference that this otherwise unknown Hrotrudis was the same as the otherwise nameless mother of Charles's two eldest sons is an obvious one. It is to be noticed that she died in the same year in which Charles brought Bilitrudis and her niece Swanahild from Bavaria. It is therefore perfectly possible that Swanahild may have been a lawful second wife of Charles. She is described by Einhard (741) as the niece of Duke Odilo; in the pedigree drawn out by Eckhart (Reb. Franc. Orient. i. 351) she appears as the daughter of the earlier Duke Theodberht, so that a marriage with her could have been no marriage of disparagement. The Continuator of Fredegar (111) speaks of her as the stepmother, "noverca," of Chiltrudis, which would seem to imply a marriage with her father. On the other hand, in a document to which we shall have to refer again (Pardessus, ii. 380), which contains the only known signatures of herself and her son, a charter of Charles, in which one would have thought that she would have seen a special opportunity for describing herself as the wife of Charles, she appears only in this vague form, "S[ignum] inlustris matrone Sonechildis consent. S. Grifonis filii sui consent."

This really seems to prove more than where the Metz Annals (741) speak of her as "concubina"; when they directly after speak of her as "mulier improba," that need not have any reference to the question of marriage. Whether she was Charles's wife or not, men did not like her action just then. The question of her marriage is discussed, and decided in opposite ways, by Breysig, 53, 54, and by Hahn, p. 16. They both quote the Annals of Einhard, 741, as calling her "concubina," but I cannot see the word in Pertz's text. But Breysig, who denies the marriage, brings up a greater scandal than all by calling her the niece of Charles. This is grounded on the words of the Continuator of Fredegar, 108, how Charles in 725 comes back from Bavaria "cum matrona quadam nomine Bilitrude et nepte sua Sonichilde." But this surely means that Swanahild was the niece not of Charles but of Bilitrudis, whoever she may have been. We cannot in this kind of Latin be particular as to questions about "sua" and "ejus."

But now who was Bilitrudis? In the Life of Saint Corbinian, first Bishop of Freising (Bouquet, iii. 653), by Aribo, himself bishop of that see from 764 to 784, she has a very bad report in all manner of ways, and is called Jezebel where we should rather have expected her to be called Herodias. She comes out of Gaul, and was beautiful and of noble birth ("quæ quidem secundum hujus carnis putredinem pulchra videbatur et decora nomine Piltrud et genere preclara ex Galliae partibus genetricem secuta"). She was the wife of Duke Theodbald, and after his death of his brother Duke Grimoald, who is rebuked by the Bishop for this unlawful marriage. She is moreover a witch and a murderess and a general plotter ("ad ultimum vero Piltrud Karolum in Gallias sequens pro meritis suis ab eo repudiata omnem honorem et gloriam perdidit propriisque exuta substantiis novissimè nihil nisi unum asellum ad subvectionem possidens in Italiam vitam finivit"). Eckhart (i. 351) seems to infer from the word "repudiata" that she too must have been for a while the wife or mistress of Charles? But does this necessarily follow? Breysig (53) very naturally rejects the singular statement of a much later writer, Ademar of Chabannes (Pertz, iv. 114), who makes this Bilitrudis the same as Plectrusis the wife of the second Pippin at whose hands Charles Martel had suffered so much in his youth. Clearly

with the Continuator before him, he enlarges his account into these words: "Carolus cum uxore patris sui Plectrude, *quæ nomen illius illuc fugerat*, et cum nepte sua Sonichilde victor in Franciam reversus est." This is a very curious and rather ingenious confusion: the name of course, in its endless spellings, makes no difficulty, but to make the two bearers of it the same is most unlikely. Nor is there any need to suppose that they two were mother and daughter, the younger being thus, one must suppose, a half-sister of Charles. It is very odd that Hahn 16 should have mistaken Swanahild for a daughter instead of a niece of Bilitrudis; but it really would make no difference if she had been. It is not nearly so strange as Breysig's own notion that Swanahild was the niece of her husband or lover. Surely the Merwings did not come to that, and the Karlings, if not absolutely perfect in these matters, were at least less wild than the Merwings.

On the whole there is no distinct evidence whether Swanahild was ever formally married to Charles. And we must remember that, in the ideas of those times, it did not so much matter as it did afterwards. Kings and great men freely allowed themselves a licence answering to the "mos Danicus" of which I have said something elsewhere (N. C. i. 203). A zealous bishop might rebuke the offender, as, according to one story, was the case with Charles's own parents, but there was clearly nothing disgraceful in the position of Grifo or of Charles or of their mothers.

The exact position of Swanahild, as wife or mistress or something between, is of less importance than her doings just before and just after the death of Charles. We have two or three casual notices of her and her son. Charles's deep affection for Grifo is shown in a story in the Life of Saint Leutfred (Bouquet, iii. 645). Grifo is sick ("gravissimis febribus torquebatur, cui mortem vicinam adesse credebant"). Charles prays the man of God to heal the boy by his prayers. It is worth noting that the saint is at Laon ("ad castrum Laudunense, quod Clavatum vocatur"), whither Grifo is carried and is healed by Leutfred in a manner clearly borrowed from the story of the prophet Elisha. The legendary element in the tale and the wrong date of the Merowingian king—a Dagobert

instead of a Theodoric—need not affect its value as a witness to the relations between Charles and his son. There is also a letter of Saint Boniface (Jaffé, iii. 108) to Grifo, which we may have to mention again, in which the Saint speaks of Grifo and his parents hardly consistent with the position of the boy and his mother being a disgraceful one. Writing after the death of Charles, but referring to past matters, he says, "Cognoscite quod memoria vestra nobiscum est coram Deo, sicut et pater vester vivus et mater jam olim mihi commendarunt." But Swanahild appears in a less kindly light in a story in which she is described as playing a hostile part against Charles himself. This comes in a charter of Pippin to Saint Denis, bearing date in 753 (Bouquet, v. 700), in which the details of the story are by no means easy to make out, but where we hear of a time "quando Carlus fuit ejectus Soanachilde cupiditate." The allusion is dark, and the phrase odd, specially the very familiar way of speaking of the King's father, while remoter forefathers are spoken of more respectfully. But it would seem that Charles was driven out of somewhere, seemingly out of Paris, by Swanahild. The matter of the charter is to put the tolls of the great fair of Saint Denis at Paris, which was attended by Saxons and Frisians and men of various nations, on their old footing. The tolls belonged to the abbey of Saint Denis; but Swanahild and Gairefred Count of Paris put on a toll of four denarii on every one who came to the fair to their own profit, and by this heavy impost drove merchants away and brought the fair to nothing. All this is very dark; but this conspiracy of Swanahild and Gairefred has been connected with the conspiracy of Wido Abbot of Saint Wandrille and others (Gest. Abb. Font. 11; Pertz, ii. 284) against Charles, in which Wido lost his head. It is vain to guess at details, but it would seem that at any rate Charles and Swanahild were reconciled before the death of Charles. For in the very last year of his life we have the charter already referred to (Pardessus, i. 380), a charter in favour of Saint Denis, but containing no mention of the tolls, which has the signatures of Swanahild and Grifo.

Then comes the question, Did the reconciled wife or mistress, whichever she was, abuse her recovered influence to persuade Charles to change the division of the Frankish dominion which

he had already made between his two elder sons only, and to make a new one in which his own son Grifo should come in for a share. The question is of the same kind as so many other questions which we have to deal with. There are such strange gaps in our accounts. The Continuator of Fredegar is one of our best authorities; he is quite trustworthy for anything that he says; but he leaves a great deal out. For whatever motive, he makes no mention of Grifo at all; he does mention Swanahild, though not by name, as suggesting to Chiltrudis to make her strange journey into Bavaria. But of all the revolts of Grifo of which there can be reasonable doubt, and of the share of Swanahild in the first of them, he says never a word. He was therefore hardly likely to mention any second division. The Annales Laurissenses say nothing about Grifo at this stage; he comes in only in 747, after the abdication of Karlmann. Neither they nor Einhard mention the flight and marriage of Chiltrudis, though it is taken for granted by both in 748. Einhard of Fulda, in 749 (Pertz, i. 346), brings in Tassilo as sister's son of Pippin, having said nothing of Chiltrudis before. In 741 the Annales Laurissenses record nothing at all but the death of Charles Martel. Einhard adds the story of the first revolt of Grifo. And his first words are very remarkable. As his story begins at that point, he does not mention the second division, or any division, before the death of Charles; but he seems to imply it.

"Hoc anno Karlus major domus diem obiit, *tres filios heredes relinquens*, Karlomannum scilicet et Pippinum atque Grifonem, quorum Grifo, qui ceteris minor natu erat, matrem habuit nomine Swanahilde, neptem Odilonis ducis Baioariorum. Hæc illum maligno consilio *ad spem totius regni* concitavit."

It is the Metz Annals which give the fuller story. The first division, the sickness and death of Charles, are recorded; then, as if to account for what was to come, we read;

"Karolus autem adhuc vivus, cum inter filios suos Karlomannum et Pippinum principatum suum diviserat, tertio filio suo Gripponi, quem ex Sonihilda quam de Bawaria captivam adduxerat, habuit, *suadente eadem concubina sua*, partem ei in medio principatus sui tribuit, partem videlicet aliquam Neustriæ, partemque Austriæ et Burgundiæ. De hac etiam tertia portione quam Gripponi adolescenti discessurus princeps tradiderat,

Franci valde contristati erant, quod *per consilium mulieris improbæ* fuissent divisi et *a legitimis heredibus sejuncti.*"

This passage is, I think, the only one which distinctly speaks of Swanahild as a concubine, and it may be a mere surmise. But, as I said in the text, the expressions in the last sentence need not have any reference to legitimacy of birth. Charles had, with the full consent of the nation, divided his office between those two of his sons who were by age and character fit to exercise it. He was on his death-bed persuaded by an ambitious woman, whatever might be her relation to himself, to set aside this lawful act in favour of a mere lad, whom the nation had not accepted, and whose rule would have simply meant the rule of his mother. This, with Swanahild's former conduct, would be surely enough to justify the words "improba mulier" and "legitimi heredes."

What now happened is not told in exactly the same way by Einhard and in the Metz Annals. Einhard, as we have seen, makes Swanahild stir up her son to hopes of the whole kingdom. Then he at once seizes Laon and makes war on his brothers—"in tantum ut sine dilatione Laudunum occuparet et bellum fratribus indiceret." In the Metz version, the first action is not on the part of Grifo. As soon as Charles is dead, there is a general national movement to carry out the first division and to hinder the execution of the second. An army is gathered to seize Grifo; he, with his mother and some partisans, flees to Laon and there they defend themselves (Pertz, i. 327);

"Consilio inito, sumptis secum principibus Karlomanno et Pippino ad capiendum Gripponem exercitum congregant. Hæc audiens Grippo, una cum Sonihilde genitrice sua fuga lapsus, cum his qui eum sequi voluerant, in Lugduno-Clavato se incluserunt."

This really seems the more likely account. It may be that Karlmann and Pippin appealed to the mass of the Franks rather than that the mass of the Franks appealed to Karlmann and Pippin; but the substantial fact is the same either way. The great object was to enforce the earlier divisions of the kingdom and to hinder the carrying out of the later. After this there is no substantial difference. In both Laon is surrendered and Grifo is put in prison. Only the Metz writer adds; "Sonihildi

vero Calem monasterium dederunt." This explains our never hearing of her again. It is a little strange to think that it is now only sixteen years since she was brought out of Bavaria. She need not have been very many years above thirty.

The older and shorter Annals really tell us nothing. On the whole, it seems to me that a very fair case is made out for the version in the Metz Annals. Of modern writers, Waitz (Deutsche Verfassungsgesch. iii. 31) accepts it, though he hardly brings out the fact of the two divisions when, after mentioning the first, he says, "Der Versuch eines Stiefbruders, Grifo, dem der Vater wie es scheint eine beschränkte Herrschaft neben den Brüdern zugedacht, sich ihnen gleichzustellen, ward vereitelt, und dann nach seiner Beseitigung die Theilung selbst noch einmal wiederholt." The division at Old Poitiers is a puzzle in any case. Hahn (19), who accepts Swanahild as the wife of Charles, accepts the second division, but follows the account of Einhard as to Grifo being the first to stir. Breysig (102) is not called on to go beyond the death of Charles Martel; but he brings out the second division, "sicherlich ohne Beirath der Grossen," very clearly, and the affair of Swanahild at Saint Denis perhaps as near to clearness as it can be brought. Ranke (Weltgeschichte, v. 4–7) accepts the second division, and weaves together the stories in Einhard and the Metz Annals. The seizure of Laon by Grifo was a formal taking possession of his share.

There is also, as Ranke (v. 5, and again 9, 10) points out, one more notice of some importance. This is the letter of Saint Boniface already spoken of (Jaffé, iii. 108) addressed to Grifo in 741, in which he clearly looks on him as holding, or being likely to hold, some part of his father's dominion. He prays him, "si tibi Deus potestatem donaverit," to help the Christians in Thuringia, against heathen enemies. Only how could Grifo, if his share was to be somewhere at the joining of Neustria, Austria, and Burgundy, have anything to do with Thuringia? From the words "filii carissimi" in the letter, Ranke infers that the letter is "ein Rundschreiben," that is, I suppose, a letter sent to Karlmann, Pippin, and Grifo, all three. Only then it is odd that we have only the copy sent to Grifo; and

how could the words about Grifo's parents (see p. 363) apply to Karlmann or Pippin? Their mother had died long before; the mother of the person to whom the letter was sent was clearly alive, though his father was dead.

Note 3, p. 67.

THE BAVARIAN WAR OF 743.

Of the Bavarian expedition of Karlmann and Pippin in 743, the older and shorter Annals tell us little beyond one important point of detail. Their confused chronology has been gone into by Hahn, 170–173. A single expedition seems to have been cut into two. The Annales Alamannici, Guelferbytani, and Nazariani agree in an entry in 742, "Franci . . . in Baugauria usque Lech," and in 744, "Franci in Bauguaria quando ille vallus fuit." From the Annales Laurissenses and Einhard we get nothing beyond the fact of the expedition and the victory, but there is a very clear account in the Continuation of Fredegar, 112, which the Metz Annalist clearly had before him, and into which he wrought certain further details of the character of which we must judge for ourselves. He also must have had the older and shorter Annals before him. His insertions in no way contradict, they simply enlarge the earlier account. The only question is whether we are to look on them as sheer invention or as genuine tradition which had perhaps drawn to itself a slight legendary element by the time the Metz writer put it into shape. The most important addition, which has nothing like it anywhere else, but which if invention is a very daring one, is his story of the league between Odilo and Hunold and the consequent raid on Chartres made by the Aquitanian duke. This in his account was going on at the same time as the Frankish expedition in Bavaria;

"Hæc dum apud Baioarios agerentur Hunaldus Dux Aquitaniæ, Ligerim transiens, cum manu valida ad Carnotis urbem perveniens ipsa civitate diruta, igne eam cremavit cum ecclesia episcopali, quæ in honore Sanctæ Dei genetrici Mariæ consecrata fuerat. Hæc autem fecit per suggestionem Ogdilottis Ducis qui per internuncios invicem fœdus inierunt, ut unusquisque eorum, inruentibus Francis, ferre alter alteri subsidium debuissent."

In the narrative of the Bavarian campaign the Metz Annalist, like the Continuator, takes the Frankish army to the Lech, where the Bavarians are encamped on their own side. But while the Continuator simply says "sederunt super ripam fluminis uterque exercitus," the Metz writer goes more into detail. He brings in the allies of the Bavarians, and he also brings in the dyke, of which the Continuator says nothing, but which appears in the smaller Annals. That is to say, he explains the reason why nothing happened for fifteen days, while the Continuator simply states the fact.

"Baioarii ex alia parte contra eos exercitum adunaverunt conductosque in adjutorium Saxones et Alamannos et Sclavos secum habuerunt. Sedit autem uterque exercitus in eodem loco 15 diebus. Erat autem in eo loco ipse fluvius intransmeabilis. Nam memoratus Ogdilo Dux vallum firmissimum fecerat inter se et hostes."

In the account of the night march and battle the Metz Annalist copies nearly the words of the Continuator, with one ludicrous misreading or misunderstanding. The Continuator says, "qui tantundem provocati irrisionibus gentis illius, indignatione commoti, periculo se dederunt *per loca deserta et palustria ubi mos transeundi nullatenus aderat* nocteque irruentes diversis exercitibus eos improvisos occupaverunt."

Here the Metz Annalist copies the very words, except that he brings in the names of the two nations, and for the words in italics he substitutes "per loca per quæ plaustra ducebantur." He seemingly could not make out the word "palustria." The flight of Odilo is given in much the same words in both, only where the Continuator says "cum paucis turpiter ultra Igne fluvium fugiendo evasit," it is improved into "vix cum paucis turpiter fugiendo Innum fluvium transiit et sic manus invictorum principum evasit." He adds that "Teobaldus quoque timore perterritus in aliam partem fugam iniit." He then goes on to describe the action of the Frankish leaders after the battle. The Continuator gives no further details beyond a reference to the considerable loss which the Franks had undergone; "His triumphis peractis non sine dispendio multorum, tamen feliciter victores ad propria remeaverunt." The Metz Annalist leaves out their return because his thoughts are presently called off to another matter, but he tells us something of their doings in

Bavaria which the Continuator leaves out; "Victores cum exercitu suo Baioariam circumeunt et moram fecerunt in ea regione quinquaginta duorum dierum."

But the Metz Annalist also makes a much more curious addition to the story in the Continuator, which he does not bring in so as to interrupt the story of the earlier writer, but puts by itself at the end. This is the story of the priest Sergius and his companion the bishop Gauzebald, or whatever form of his name we are to take. He is taken prisoner, and then the Annalist explains how he came to be there;

"Captus est autem in eodem prœlio Sergius presbyter, missus domni Zachariæ papæ, qui pridie quam bellum committeretur, ab Ogdilone Karlomanno et Pippino directus fuerat, falsoque ex auctoritate domni Apostolici bellum interdixerat et quasi ex præcepto superdicti Pontificis Francos a Baioariis discedere persuaserat."

I do not know that there is any mention elsewhere of this mission of Sergius to Bavaria, but he was an important person at the time, and appears in the collection of Letters of Boniface (Jaffé, iii. 136, 141, 147) as taking a part in the Roman synod of 745 which condemned Aldebert and Clement. His full signature is "Sergius, humilis presbyter Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ tituli Sanctæ Potentiane," that is, in more modern style, Cardinal-priest of Saint Pudentiana. A mere inventor of a story, one would think, would have been more likely to bring in either a much better known person or else one purely imaginary, rather than one whose existence and dignity are certain, but of whose actions we have nothing more to say. As I understand the story, he was really sent by the Pope to Odilo, but was used by the Duke in a way which the Pope had not intended. The speech of Pippin may well enough be traditional, though doubtless it is put into the Annalist's best shape. The summing up of his doctrine that if might does not make right it is at least the best sign of right, stands thus;

"Idcirco autem scias quia si Sanctus Petrus cognovisset quod nostra justitia non fuisset, hodie in isto bello nobis adjutorium non præstitisset. Nunc vero certus esto per intercessionem beati Petri Apostolorum principis et per judicium Dei quod subire non distulimus, Baioariam Baioariosque ad Francorum imperium pertinere."

The "judicium Dei," I need hardly say, is the wager of battle on a grand scale.

I do not think all this can be sheer invention, and, if not, the story goes very far to support the authority of the Metz Annals during the years on which we are now engaged. Ranke in his discourse "Zur Analyse der Annales Mettenses" (Weltgeschichte, v. 292) takes a much more favourable view than Pertz and others on this part of the Annals, which he compares at some length with the other authorities. In pp. 298–299 he examines our Bavarian story, and distinctly decides in favour of the Annalist. Of the story of Sergius he says, "Ich denke, dass der Verfasser dieses Stückes auch hier besonders gute Informationen besass; sie tragen ganz das Gepräge der Ursprünglichkeit."

Neither the Continuator nor the Metz Annalist gives us the slightest hint as to what became of Odilo after his flight beyond the Inn. But we find some notices in other quarters. It appears that in the next year, 744, peace was made between Karlmann and Odilo. This is distinctly asserted in the Annales Petaviani: "Pax inter Karolomannum et Odilonem." And so in the Annales Mosellani (Pertz, xvi. 495); "Pax inter Carlomanno et Hodilone. Hostilitas in Saxonia." (On the authority of these Annals see Richter, 207.) That this peace means a restoration of Odilo to the duchy appears from the entries under 648 and 649, which record the entry of Grifo into Bavaria. Thus in the Annales Laurissenses, 748, we read that Grifo "ipsum ducatum sibi subjugavit, Hiltrudem cum Tassilone conquisivit," or, as Einhard puts it, "ipsum ducatum in suam redegit potestatem Tassilonem et Hiltrudem in deditionem accepit." It must be remembered that these Annals make no mention of the flight and marriage of Chiltrudis which are recorded by the Continuator (cf. p. 55 and cxi), but these entries alone would show that Chiltrudis was the widow and Tassilo the son of Odilo. The Metz Annals (749) say distinctly; "Dux eo tempore Odilo defunctus erat cui Tassilo filius ejus successerat." Odilo therefore must have been restored to his duchy, and must have died between 743 and 748. The restoration was no doubt made at the peace in 744. Some further details are given.

NOTE 4, p. 144.

THE ORDER OF EVENTS IN THE YEAR 754.

THE order of events in the year 753, as far as the acts of Pope Stephen are concerned, is well traced out by Oelsner (121) up to the Pope's starting from Rome on October 14 in that year. The time from that day to January 6, 754, is taken up with the Pope's journey to Pavia, the negotiations there, and his further journey from Pavia to Ponthion. We have now to put things into order between the coming of Stephen to Ponthion on January 6 and the setting forth of the Frankish army for Lombardy in August of the same year.

For this series of events we have two main authorities, one Frankish, the other Roman. The one is the fourth continuation of Fredegar, written by order of Count Nibelung. The other is the Life of Stephen in the great collection of the Lives of the Popes in Muratori, iii. 165. Between these two there is a general agreement as to the main events. But there are a good many smaller differences as to time, place, and order, and as we so often find, one strange and important omission on the part of the Frankish writer. There is also a third full account in the Moissac Annals, which are largely followed by those of Metz. But though these are never to be wholly cast aside, they have to be weighed, and cannot be looked on as having the same direct authority as the two contemporary writers, Roman and Frankish. It is wonderful how very little the older and shorter Annals tell us. In their meagre entries we may just learn that the Pope came into Gaul and that Pippin led an army into Lombardy. The Annales Petaviani are the most instructive, as they bring together a great number of events, though in a meagre and unconnected way. Their entries for the two years run thus;

"753. Pipinus rex in Saxonia, et Childegarius episcopus defunctus est, et Papa Stephanus venit ab urbe Roma in Franciam, et Carolomannus post eum, et filii ejus tonsi sunt, et Grippo occisus est.

754. Bonefacius martyrium suscepit; et Chiltrudis mortua est; et Carolomannus obiit; et rex Pipinus abiit in Langobardiam et papa Stephanus reversus est Romam."

This is meagre enough, but all the events seem to be in their right places except one. The shearing of the sons of Karloman is brought into too close a connexion with their father's coming, while the event with which it was connected, the second marriage of Pippin, is strangely left out. The coming of the Pope might of course, like many other things, have been said to be either in 753 or in 754, according to different ways of reckoning the beginning of the year. There is nothing special in the Annales Laurissenses or in those which bear the name of Einhard. We shall have to look to them on particular points; but the main story has to be put together from the Life of Stephen, the Continuator, and the Moissac Annals.

The coming of the Pope to Ponthion is told by all three in quite different words, but with no essential difference as to facts. All three, it may be noticed, mention the sending of the young Charles to meet the Pope before his father. The Moissac writer further describes him as "filius suus primogenitus Carolus qui post eum regnaturus erat." This scriptural phrase might point to a much later view of things, when the younger Karloman was pretty well forgotten, or it might be the absolutely contemporary view before the unction of the two brothers. It is really of no consequence whether the first interview between Pippin and Stephen happened on the very day of his coming, as we should infer from the Life, or on the next day according to the Moissac writer; but the different descriptions of the Pope's conduct which I have contrasted in the text are well worth looking at (see p. 135). In the Life, as soon as the Pope has reached Ponthion, we read;

"Itaque intus oratorium consedentes mox idem beatissimus papa predictum Christianissimum regem lacrimabiliter deprecatus est ut per pacis fœdera causam beati Petri et reipublicæ Romanorum disponeret."

These last are memorable words of which we shall have to speak again. As to the Pope's way of asking for help, the Moissac writer (741) has quite another picture;

"Sequenti die una cum clero suo aspersus cinere et indutus cilicio in terram prostratus per misericordiam Dei omnipotentis et merita beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli Pippinum regem obsecrans ut se et populum Romanum de manu Langobardorum et superbi Regis Haistulphi servitio liberaret; nec

antea de terra surgere voluit quam sibi rex prædictus Pippinus cum filiis suis et optimatibus Francorum manum porrigerent, et ipsum pro inditio suffragii futuri et liberationis de terra levarent."

The same story about the Pope appearing in sackcloth and ashes comes also in the Passio S. Bonifacii, Jaffé, Mon. Mag. iii. 477, where the Pope also gives Pippin a sword.

Is the Frankish writer here romancing, or is the Roman hiding an unworthy humiliation on the part of the Pope? There are, I think, some little touches which may incline us to accept the Roman account. The King and the Pope, sitting down side by side in the chapel, is so exactly like several scenes between Anselm and William Rufus. When Anselm sits down beside the King at Hastings (Will. Rufus, i. 450), Eadmer specially notices that it was "ex more," and the private discourse with the King would surely go before any such gathering of the "optimates Francorum" as the Moissac writer supposes. The Continuator gives no details of the meeting; he simply records that Pope and King did meet, and adds the matter of the Pope's request (119);

"Stephanus papa *Romensis* ad præsentiam regis veniens, multis muneribus tam ipsi regi quam et Francis largitus est, auxilium petens contra gentem Langobardorum et eorum regem Aistulfum, ut per ejus adjutorium ab eorum oppressionibus vel fraudulentia de manibus eorum liberaretur; et tributa et munera quæ contra legis ordinem a Romanis requirebant facere desisterent."

Here, we may notice, is no mention of Saint Peter or of the Roman Republic, no mention of restoring any lands or cities to either of them; the Pope simply craves deliverance from the oppressions of Aistulf on behalf of himself and the Romans, that is, one may suppose, the inhabitants of the city, and perhaps the duchy, of Rome. Nor is it said what answer the King made to the Pope. But that it was, to some extent at least, favourable might be inferred from Pippin's next act. Having provided quarters for the Pope at Saint Denis, he sends an embassy to Aistulf;

"Petens ut propter reverentiam beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli *in partibus Romæ* non ambularet, et superstitiosas ac impias vel contra legis ordinem causas, quod antea

Romani numquam fecerant, propter ejus petitionem facere non deberet."

I have remarked (see p. 141) on the oddness of the phrase "superstitiosas ac impias . . . causas." The occurrence of the words "contra legis ordinem" in both cases might make us think that they are the same as the "tributa et munera" of the Pope's petition; but, if so, it is a strange way of speaking of them. The Moissac writer, followed by him of Metz, has a kind of intermediate form. Pippin sends his embassy, Ann. Mett. 753.

"Hortans eum ut propter reverentiam apostolorum Petri et Pauli Romanas urbes non affligeret et *superstitiose* has impias præscriptiones contra pontificem Romanæ urbis non moveret."

To do wrong to the Pope might be impious; but how was it superstitious?

The Frankish envoys come back, having no effect on Aistulf; and the next thing that the Continuator records is the Marchfield at Berny. This, he says, happened "anno evoluto," though all, including the first Lombard campaign, is rightly put under 754. That is the year he dates events by; the phrase "anno evoluto" does not mean that he begins the year with March 1, but simply that the time of year for holding the Marchfield had come round. Next after the Marchfield he records the Lombard campaign as its immediate result;

"Præfatus rex ad kalendas Martias omnes Francos, sicut mos Francorum est, Bernaco villa publica ad se venire præcepit. Initoque consilio cum proceribus suis, *eo tempore quo solent reges ad bella procedere*, cum Stephano papa, et reliquæ nationes quæ in suo regno commorabantur et Francorum agmina . . . usque Mauriennam perveniunt."

The words in italics are a difficulty to which I shall come again. It will be seen that the ceremony in Saint Denis is altogether left out; but that proves nothing against it. The narrative is hurried, and the writer wishes to show, what is perfectly true, that the Lombard expedition was the result of the vote of the Marchfield. He has nothing to say about the coming of Karlmann.

The Life of Stephen seems to make the unction come very early in the year, just after the Pope had gone to Saint Denis;

"Quo peracto et eo in eodem venerabili monasterio cum

jam fato Christianissimo Pipino conjungente, Domino annuente, *post aliquantos dies* isdem Christianissimus Pipinus rex ab eodem sanctissimo papa Christi gratia cum duobus filiis suis reges uncti sunt Francorum."

Then comes the Pope's sickness (see p. 169). After his recovery comes what seems to be the Marchfield of Berny removed to Quierzy;

"Pipinus rex, cum admonitione, gratia, et oratione ipsius venerabilis pontificis absolutus, in loco qui Carisiacus appellatur pergens, ibique congregans cunctos proceres regiæ suæ potestatis, et eos tanti patris ammonitione imbuens statuit cum eis quæ semel, Christo favente, uno cum eodem beatissimo papa decreverat, perficere."

Then comes the mission of Karlmann, described at some length; then the mission of Pippin to Aistulf; then at last, "isdem eximius Francorum rex . . . generalem contra eum decrevit facere motionem." Then the army sets out.

The Moissac Annals seem here to be imperfect. After the vain embassy to Aistulf comes the unction;

"Stephanus papa ipsum piissimum principem Pippinum regem Francorum et patricium Romanorum oleo unctionis perunxit secundum morem majorum unctione sacra filiosque ejus duos felici successione Carolum et Carolomannum eodem *coronavit* honore."

These last words are the only words anywhere which might seem to imply a *coronation* of either Pippin or his sons as distinguished from the unction. After all they may be only a flourish. After "honore" Pertz puts a blank. Those that next follow are "Pippinus vero rex non poterat ea quæ Romano præsuli promiserat, nisi toto affectu cum Dei auxilio adimpleret." Then comes the march over the Alps. The gap is filled up in the Metz Annals by the assembly at Berny and the mission of Karlmann, both seemingly brought in without any regard to order and with a certain copying of words from the Continuator;

"Eodem quoque anno Pippinus rex placitum habuit secundum consuetudinem Kalend. Mart. Brennaco villa publica. Accepto inde consilio optimatum suorum, partibus Italiæ se cum omni apparatu suo profecturum esse indixit, et cum omni multitudine per Lugdunum Galliæ et Viennam pergentes, usque ad

Mauriennam pervenerunt. Eodem quoque tempore Karlomannus, germanus domni regis Pippini, ab abbate suo destinatur ut pro Langobardis interpellaret, et ut iter regium ab illis partibus impediret, in Franciam venit. Pippinus vero se non aliud posse facere nisi ea quæ Romano præsuli promiserat. Pippinus itaque, Alpes transiens," &c.

Before we try to harmonize these three accounts in which the order seems to be so different we may see what is to be found elsewhere. The short Annals tell us really nothing. The Laurissenses Minores scatter the events of 754 over all the years from 754 to 760. The Annales Laurissenses and those of Einhard put the Pope's coming in 753, which of course it would be according to some reckonings of the beginnings of the year, and closely connect his coming with that of Karlmann. The words of the Laurissenses are;

"Eodem anno Stephanus papa venit in Franciam, adjutorium et solatium quærens pro justitiis sancti Petri; similiter et Karlomannus, monachus et germanus supradicti Pippini regis, per jussionem abbatis sui in Franciam venit, quasi ad conturbandam petitionem apostolicam."

The words follow in brackets, "hoc anno natalem Domini in Theodone villa, Pascha in Carisiaco celebravit." This means the Christmas of 753 and the Easter of 754. Einhard seems to make Pippin and Stephen first meet at Quierzy instead of Ponthion;

"Eodem anno Stephanus Papa venit ad Pippinum regem in villa quæ vocatur Carisiacus, suggerens illi ut se et Romanam ecclesiam ab infestatione Langobardorum defenderet."

He records the coming of Karlmann to oppose the Pope, but adds a kind of excuse (see p. 382); "Invitus tamen hoc fecisse putatur quia nec ille abbatis sui jussa contemnere nec abbas ille præceptis regis Langobardorum qui ei hoc imperavit audebat resistere." Under 754 both record the unction, but Einhard inserts the words, "Postquam a rege Pippino ecclesiæ Romanæ defensionis firmitatem accepit." And he adds "mansitque hiberno tempore in Francia." Both put the Italian expedition in 755.

In all this it is easy to see that there is a good deal of contradiction of the order of events. In the Continuator they stand thus; the Pope's reception at Ponthion; his request for

help; his sojourn at Saint Denis; the message to Aistulf; the Marchfield at Berny; the march to Italy. The order in the Life of Stephen is; the Pope's reception at Ponthion; his request for help; his sojourn at Saint Denis; the anointing of the kings; the Pope's sickness; the assembly at Quierzy; the embassy to Aistulf; the march to Italy. The Moissac and Metz order is; the Pope's reception at Ponthion; his request for help; his sojourn at Saint Denis; the anointing of the kings; the Marchfield at Berny; the march to Italy. In all this, it is to be noticed, we get only two exact dates, January 6 for the Pope's coming to Ponthion, and, in the nature of things, March 1 for the Marchfield.

Now it is not very hard to get another exact date, namely that of July 28, 754, for the unction. The evidence for this date is minutely gone into by Oelsner, 155, 156. The year is fixed by the famous "Clausula de Pippino," at the end of Gregory of Tours' book, De Gloria Confessorum. (Wattenbach in his fifth edition of Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen, i. 120, withdraws the objections to this authority which are spoken of by Oelsner.) The day comes from a document of Abbot Hildwin of Saint Denis, in his Life of Saint Denis (see Bouquet, v. 436), which copies the description of the unction given in the Clausula. He gives the date as "anno, qui ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi DCCLIV. quinto Calendas Augusti."

On such a point as this the local tradition or record is perfectly trustworthy. The honour of Saint Denis and his church was in no way concerned in fixing the unction to one day more than another. And this, or something very near to it, was the local tradition at Rome also. The letter of Pope Stephen in the Epitome Chronicorum Casinensium (Muratori, ii. part 1, p. 363) is clearly spurious, but the forger would be careful on such a point, and his date "die Kalendarum Augusti" is clearly Hildwin's date with the word or figures for *five* fallen out. The date was also preserved in the Annales Bertiniani, whence it has found its way into a note to the Annales Laurissenses, Pertz, i. 138. Of this date there can be no reasonable doubt. We must insert the unction into the gap which the Continuator leaves between the Marchfield and the march into Italy. The only question is as to the date of that

march. The most natural interpretation of the words of the Continuator would be that the expedition began early in 754, soon after the Marchfield. Pippin set forth "inito consilio cum proceribus suis, eo tempore quo solent reges ad bella procedere" (see above, p. 374). Here the Marchfield and the expedition are brought into the closest possible connexion, and the scriptural phrase is most naturally taken of an early time in the year. But, if the date of the anointing be right, it could not have been early in 754. That Pippin should have waited till after another Marchfield and gone in the "tempus quo solent reges ad bella procedere" of 755, seems most unlikely in itself, and it does not agree with the Continuator's own chronology. Though he uses the scriptural phrase, he puts the campaign in 754 and 755 in the "sequens annus," when the campaign is over. Oelsner moreover, in his Excurs "Der Feldzug des Jahres 754" (449, 450), seems to have set the matter at rest by the evidence of a number of documents, Lombard and Frankish.

We must therefore place the unction on July 28, 754, and the beginning of the march soon after. We have only to suppose that the Continuator, who was fond of using scriptural phrases, brought in this one without much thought of its meaning. And we cannot say that he is wrong in closely connecting the Marchfield and the Italian expedition. The expedition was the carrying out of the vote of the Marchfield, though some months passed between the two things. That the writer leaves out both the anointing of Pippin and the mission of Karlmann is very strange, but we have got used to such strange omissions. There is no contradiction, simply a gap.

The chronology of the Metz Annals is of less importance. But I do not think there is any real contradiction. The events are not put in strict order; but are brought in as they suggested themselves, "eodem anno," "eodem tempore."

And now for the Life of Pope Stephen. We have only to suppose him to be what he clearly was, very careful in recording whatever it was important for his purpose to record, but not very exact as to the order of events nor even as to places in a strange land. In truth as to the date of the unction, there is no real contradiction. The Pope is

quartered at Saint Denis, and that suggests to his biographer the august ceremony which happened at Saint Denis a few months later, and he mentions it out of its place. He says it happened "post aliquantos dies"; but we have only to go on to the next column to see that that does not necessarily mean within a week or a fortnight, but may take in a time of several months. Karlmann is there taken to Vienne, and dies "post aliquantos dies." This is in August, and he did not die till the next year. Then his expressions would certainly of themselves imply that the Marchfield was held at Quierzy; but on such a point the witness of the Continuator that it was held at Berny is decisive. But something most likely happened at Quierzy. Pippin seems (see above, p. 144) to have kept his Easter there, and in a well-known passage of the Life of Hadrian (Muratori, iii. part 1, p. 186) that Pope is made to remind Charles the Great on his coming to Rome in 774 of a promise made at Quierzy ("promissio quæ in Francia in loco qui vocatur Carisiacus facta est"). Of the value of this piece of evidence we may have to speak hereafter; but the mere fact —likely enough in itself, but not very important—of Stephen's presence at Quierzy seems to be fully made out by his signature dated thence to a document in favour of a certain monastery, whether at Bretigny or elsewhere. (See Oelsner, 150; Dahn, Urgeschichte, iii. 878; Jaffé, Regesta, i. 2315.) Whatever was done at Quierzy would be done at the Easter feast, when there would doubtless be a gathering of great men at the King's court, though not such an attendance as there had been before at the Marchfield. The Biographer has either left out the Marchfield at Berny or else rolled the two assemblies into one. How little careful he is of exact chronology we see directly after. "Interea," while these things were going on, Aistulf sends Karlmann. Surely Karlmann was at Berny.

There would seem to be quite time for an embassy to go to Pavia and back between January 6 and March 1. The Pope left Pavia on October 14, and reached Ponthion on January 6. But he disliked the journey, and doubtless travelled slowly. He also stayed (see p. 129) at Saint Maurice "aliquantis diebus," words which, as we have just seen, may mean as long as we please. In fact it is pretty certain that he tarried there into December. It was in December that his comrade

Ambrose died there (see p. 130), and there is nothing to show that Ambrose was left behind while the Pope went on. Envoys going at all speed on an errand that needed haste could surely do the journey both ways in less time than the Pope took to do it one way.

It is worth noting that both the Annales Laurissenses and those of Einhard, which place the coming of Stephen in 753 and the unction in 754, place the Italian expedition in 755. In the case of Einhard at least it is easy to see how this mistake arose. After the unction he says, "Mansitque [Stephanus papa] hiberno tempore in Francia," that is the winter of 754–5. This surely comes from a misunderstanding of the Continuator, who thus describes the sojourn of the Pope at Saint Denis: "Pippinus rex prædato Stephano papa apud Parisiis civitatem in monasterio sancti Dionysii martyris, cum ingenti cura et multa diligentia, hiemare præcepit." But this applies to what in Einhard's reckoning is the winter of 753–4, so much of it as followed January 6.

Of modern writers Gregorovius (Geschichte der Stadt Rom, ii. 311) seems to follow the Biographer, putting the unction before whatever was done at Quierzy and making no mention of Berny. So Waitz, iii. 81, who rebukes Pertz for doing otherwise. Kroeta (De Donationibus Pippino et Carolo Magno factis, Königsberg, 1862) sticks closely to the confused order of the Biographer. Ranke (Weltgeschichte, v. 35) reckons up some of the difficulties without attempting to solve them. Some of them perhaps are hardly on such a scale that we could expect the writer of a Weltgeschichte to tarry over them. But he too seems (p. 31) to put the unction very soon after the Pope's coming to Saint Denis. Troya (Cod. Dipl. Long. iv. 314) had put most things in their right order, only he turned the Maifield on its own day into a quasi *May*field after Easter, about April 23. This would make some things smoother, but it cannot be. It is Oelsner (129–204 and the Appendix) who has really gone into every detail, and put everything into its right place. That I wholly differ from him as to the nature of what was done at Quierzy takes away nothing from his merits in this way. He sees that something

was done at Ponthion, Saint Denis, Berny—he makes it Braisne, a difference of no importance to the story—Quierzy, and Saint Denis again. His arrangement is followed by Richter and Kohl in the Annalen des fränkischen Reichs.

Lastly, on the whole matter it is worth while to turn to the amusing version in the Chronicle of Salerno (Pertz, iii. 472). His version is mostly made up from the Life of Stephen, and of course, in copying from the Life of Stephen, he follows the way in which Stephen is spoken of by his own Biographer. But at the very beginning he starts with quite another way of looking at things, which, we may be sure, represents genuine Lombard feeling;

"Per idem tempus invidia diaboli Stephanus papa Romanus inter Langobardos et gens Francorum, Allamannorum, Burgundionum supereminavit Zizania, hoc ordine quod inferius declarassem."

This would not have displeased Karlmann, nor seemingly a good many of the other Franks. In the very next sentence we have about the Pope and his lost sheep copied word for word from the Life of Stephen.

NOTE 5, p. 142.

THE MISSION OF KARLMANN.

THE mission of Karlmann by King Aistulf and Abbot Optatus to oppose the pleadings of Pope Stephen with King Pippin is wholly left out by the fourth Continuator of Fredegar, just as the revolts of Grifo (the last of which he himself mentions) are left out by the Continuator before him. Such omissions can hardly be accidental. The omission of the second unction is very strange; but it may perhaps be accounted for by the writer's wish to show the direct connexion between the Marchfield at Berny and the expedition into Italy. He hurries from one to the other, and leaves out what comes between, even the great solemnity. For the unction, important as it was in many ways, was only a solemnity; it did not directly affect the course of events. So neither, as it happened, did the mission of Karlmann; but

it was, just like an unsuccessful battle, a direct attempt to change them. It seems too to have made, as it well might, a deep impression at the time, and it is recorded in many of the Annals. I have already quoted (see p. 371) the remarkable entry in the Annales Petaviani. In the second set of small Annals (Pertz, i. 27, 28) his coming is mentioned in each, and with important notices. The Laureshamenses are nearly the same as the Petaviani; the others have another formula; "Karlomannus rediit, *qui et detentus*," to which two add, 'est, et obiit.'"

The Laurissenses Minores have a much more inadequate story; "Karlmannus monachus Franciam fratrem visitare veniens, Viennæ moritur." The Laurissenses Majores couple the coming of Stephen and that of Karlmann in a way that should be noticed;

"Eodem anno Stephanus papa venit in Franciam, adjutorium et solatium quærendo pro justiciis sancti Petri; similiter et Karlomannus, monachus et germanus supradicti Pippini regis, per jussionem abbatis sui in Franciam venit, quasi ad conturbandam petitionem apostolicam."

This comes under 753; so the writer must have looked on Karlmann as coming very soon after Stephen. Einhard clearly thought that the conduct of Karlmann in opposing the Pope needed some apology; so he adds;

"Venit et Karlomannus, frater regis, jam monachus factus, jussu abbatis sui, ut apud fratrem suum precibus Romani pontificis obsisteret; invitus tamen hoc fecisse putatur, qui nec ille abbatis sui jussa contempnere nec abbas ille præceptis regis Langobardorum, qui ei hoc imperavit, audebat resistere."

Einhard of Fulda (Pertz, i. 357) uses words which seem to be independent of the others; but he is wrong in both the date and the place of Karlmann's death;

"Karlomannus frater Pippini, cum consilio Haistulfi regis Langobardorum in Franciam veniens, ad persuadendum fratri ne exercitum in Italiam duceret, non post multos dies Lugduni vita decessit."

At the distance of Fulda, Lyons and Vienne perhaps seemed all the same thing, a confusion which would hardly have pleased the Primate of Primates.

Most unluckily the Continuator of Fredegar does not mention

the mission of Karlmann, neither does the Moissac annalist. I have already quoted (see p. 375) the account of the Metz Annals (much to the same effect as the others), thrust in as an afterthought in a wrong place. We have therefore no detailed account save that in the Life of Stephen. His coming is there described in these words;

"Interea nefandissimus Aistulfus Carlomannum fratrem benignissimi Pipini regis a monasterio beati Benedicti, in quo devote per revolutum temporis spatium monachium degebat, diabolicis ei suasionibus suadens Franciam provinciam ad obicendum atque adversandum causæ redemptionis sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ reipublicæ Romanorum direxit."

Now as to the date of Karlmann's coming. The language of the Annals, "post eum," and the like, suggests, though it does not absolutely prove, that he came soon after the Pope. The "interea" of the Life of Stephen covers the time between the Pope's coming to Ponthion on January 6 and the Easter feast at Quierzy on April 14. If Karlmann was to be of any use at all, it was Aistulf's object to send him to his brother's court as soon as possible. He would signify his will to Optatus as soon as Stephen had left Pavia; his messengers would go with all speed, and Karlmann would go with all speed. The Pope, as we have seen, went slowly and tarried on the road. A journey through Gaul was not so frightful a business to Karlmann as it was to Stephen, and he may really have come to Pippin not very long after the coming of the Pope. All that concerns us is to get him to Berny by the first day of March, the day of the Marchfield.

There is no distinct evidence whether either Stephen or Karlmann actually appeared on the Marchfield. We have no clear report of its acts. The Continuator, who so carefully gives us its date and place, and from whom we should look for the best account, hurries it over to get to the fighting. We are thus driven to the Biographer, who, as we have seen, either leaves out the assembly at Berny or mixes it up with that of Quierzy. His language is very general; but he records strong opposition on Karlmann's part to the action requested by the Pope made at some time after a promise made to the Pope by Pippin. In his narrative this might be understood either of

the promise at Ponthion or of the promise at Quierzy. If Stephen or Karlmann or both did appear before the Marchfield between those two we must of course understand it of the first promise at Ponthion. The passage runs thus;

"Dum illuc conjunxisset [Carolomannus], nitebatur omnino et vehementius decertabat, sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ causam subvertere, juxta quod a præfato nec dicendo Aistulfo tyranno fuerat directus. Sed propitiante Domino minime valuit sui germani Christianissimi Pippini regis Francorum in hoc firmissimum eos inclinare. Potius autem conferta nequissimi Aistulfi versutia tota se virtute [al. servitute] idem excellentissimus Pipinus Francorum rex professus est decertare pro causa sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ, sicut pridem jam fato beatissimo spoponderat pontifici."

All this might be done either in the public Marchfield or in some smaller council, say at Quierzy, or in private discourse with Pippin himself. Karlmann most likely tried all three ways. But that both disputants should appear in the public Marchfield seems quite to agree with what we know of the practice of that assembly. It was (see above, p. 144) a marked part of its business under the later Merwings that the King gave answers to foreign envoys, such answers as the Mayor of the Palace dictated to him. Surely the same practice would go on under the new dynasty, with the simple difference that the King could now answer for himself without any Mayor of the Palace to teach him. Moreover he did not only make answers but heard what the envoys had to say; "Legatos undecunque venientes audirent," says Einhard (Vita K. 1). The diplomacy of the Frankish kingdom, like that of the Athenian democracy, allowed the ministers of foreign powers to speak directly to the assembled nation. Now Karlmann, by the strange turning about in his position, appeared as the minister of a foreign power, namely the King of the Lombards. The Pope was either himself a foreign power or the minister of a foreign power, namely the Emperor. According to the usage described by Einhard, both would be heard before the King gave his answer. Karlmann would speak to the assembled Franks in their own tongue. The Pope, as having to speak through an interpreter, would be neither better nor worse off than any other envoy from the Emperor or from the Caliph.

It would seem, however, that the rights of ambassadors were not very strictly regarded in the case of Karlmann. He and all that belonged to him were clearly looked on as dangerous. The fact of the shearing of Drogo and his other sons, not mentioned in any of the fuller accounts, comes out in some of the shorter Annals as Petaviani and Laureshamenses, as the detention of the monks who came with him comes out in a letter of Stephen (see above, p. 164). So the three other Annals in Pertz, i. 28, 29. We have already seen the speaking entry "Karlomanus detentus est." The Biographer says more fully;

"Tunc pari consilio isdem sanctissimus papa cum denominato Francorum rege concilio inito juxta id quod præfatus Karlomannus Deo se devoverat monachicham degere vitam in monasterio eum Viennæ in Francia [the reading in the note Muratori, iii. 169] collocaverunt. Ubi et post aliquantos dies de hac luce migravit anno Domini 755."

This evidently implies, if not actual imprisonment, some kind of safe-keeping. We shall see that he accompanied Pippin's army on his march against Italy as far as the place of his death at Vienne.

Karlmann, as we have seen, became a monastic hero, one of the special worthies of the house of Monte Casino. As time went on men found it hard to believe that so holy a man had ever acted in opposition to the Pope. In the later traditions of Monte Casino the story of his mission to the Frankish court was strangely changed to make it agree with the new notions. We have seen that as early as Einhard's day this seems strange, and that an excuse had to be found for him. The story is told in a curious way in the Chronicle of Monte Casino by Leo Marsicanus (Muratori, iv. 270). Karlmann goes on the errand of Aistulph, but we are not told what that errand was.

"Ab Aistulpho Langobardorum rege pro quibusdam rei suæ utilitatibus ad fratrem suum Pipinum regem in Franciam ire rogatus vix ægre, Regi hoc annuente Abbate, profectus est. Ibidemque negotio pro quo abierat impediente aliquandiu retardatus judicio Dei defunctus est."

But this was a weak way of getting out of the difficulty. The time came at Monte Casino when the story was altogether changed in order to paint Karlmann as no longer the adversary of the Pope, but his faithful companion and advocate. This

version we find in the Epitome Chronicorum Casinensium in Muratori, ii. part 1, p. 359, a forgery in the name of the librarian Anastasius, but really written by the deacon Peter of Monte Casino in the twelfth century. The earlier negotiations between Stephen, Pippin, and Aistulf, the mission of Chrodegang and the others, are told pretty much as they happened.

NOTE 6, p. 152.

THE PATRICIATE OF PIPPIN.

THAT Pippin, his colleagues and successors, from the time of his anointing by Pope Stephen in 754 to the Imperial crowning of Charles in 800, bore the title of "Patricius Romanorum" is an undoubted fact. Pippin does not seem himself to have used it, but it is constantly given to him and his sons by the Pope. Charles uses it as part of his formal style along with his royal title as King of the Franks and Lombards. Out of these facts more than one question arises, and it is needful to make some distinctions between them. We ask then,

First, By what authority was the title conferred? This question is closely connected with another, which however is not quite the same, namely

Second, What was the strict formal meaning of the title? This question is quite distinct from another, namely

Third, What was the object of Pope Stephen in bestowing the title or causing it to be bestowed? What did Pippin understand by it? And what use did the Pope practically make of the new relation? These questions hang together.

I had myself long been tending to the belief that the title of Patrician could not have been bestowed on the Frankish king except with the consent or indeed by the formal commission of the Emperor. It is impossible (see p. 136) not to believe that John the Silentiary knew and approved of Stephen's journey into Gaul, in case the joint appeals of Pope, Silentiary, and Frankish envoys proved vain—as they did prove vain—to bring the King of the Lombards to submission. At Pavia the Pope and the Silentiary, hitherto joint envoys of the Emperor,

part; the Pope goes on into Gaul without the Silentiary. Of the Silentiary, and indeed of the Emperor, we hear nothing more till the embassy to which I have had so often to refer in advance (see p. 189), when, in 756, the Silentiary again appears at Rome as joint envoy to Pippin with George the Protosecreta. Then Constantine is still on friendly terms with Pippin, and still cherishes or professes some hope that the King will give up the Exarchate to him. As to the circumstances of the bestowal of the patriciate we are wholly in the dark; not a detail is given, nor an explanation of any kind; we can only say that it was bestowed. To my mind the most obvious guess is that the Pope, an Imperial envoy at Pavia, went on as an Imperial envoy to Ponthion, that he had an Imperial commission to ask for help from Pippin and to bestow on him the title of Patrician as an inducement or a reward. On the way in which this would suit the Emperor's purposes, the way in which I believe that the Pope turned the commission to his own purposes, I have enlarged at some length in the text. And it seems to me that something like this would be the most obvious guess, if it were not for the kind of superstition which hinders most minds from taking in the real position of an Emperor of the eighth century. It extends even to great scholars who know every recorded detail of every fact; even they cannot set themselves free from popular notions; it is plain that the rule of the Emperor in Italy seems to them something strange, something, so to speak, uncanny, something against kind (παρὰ φύσιν). They show the feeling by the use of needless epithets for the Emperor and the Empire. They are "Greek," an epithet utterly misleading at any time; they are "Byzantine," at best "East-Roman." But even this last epithet is needless when there is no "West-Roman" to oppose to it; it is out of place between the years 476 and 800. Everything shows how hard it is to take in the position of the single Roman Emperor of the eighth century, reigning over what was left of the Empire, over Old Rome as well as New, by unbroken succession from the Flavii and the Julii. Once grasp this plain fact, and the whole thing is clear; there is no longer any difficulty in conceiving the Pope as acting as the envoy of the Emperor and as bestowing the patriciate on the King of the Franks by an Imperial commission. The scholars of an earlier

time found far less difficulty in taking in the position of the Emperors from 476 to 800 than the scholars of our own day. They knew the documents and their language as well as later scholars, and it had never been beaten into their heads that those documents had to be interpreted by talk about "Greek," "Byzantine," "effete Lower Empire," and what not. They had not been warped by reading that fatal chapter of Gibbon (chap. xlviii) which, by its tone of scorn and mockery, undoes beforehand all that might otherwise be learned from the really precious chapters that follow it. Cast all these prejudices aside, and I say boldly that, though I cannot directly prove that Pippin received the patriciate by commission from Constantine Koprônymos, yet not only no one can directly prove that he did not, but that to suppose that he did is the most natural explanation of the whole matter. I speak now simply of the formal act; what the Pope designed, what the King understood, what practically came of it all—all these are distinct questions which I shall come to afterwards.

In the *Revue Historique*, xxxiii. 58 (January–April, 1887), there is an article headed "Le Royaume Lombard, ses relations avec l'Empire Grec et avec les Francs." Its matter has since appeared as part of a printed work, "L'Empire Byzantin et la Monarchie Franque, par A. Gasquet" (Paris, 1888). M. Gasquet shows a far better understanding of these things than is common. Though he does talk about "l'Empire Grec" and a "roi de France," he quite takes in what the position of an Emperor of the eighth century was, and the difference between the position of Gregory towards Charles Martel and that of Stephen towards Pippin. Nothing can be clearer than Father Gasquet's language in p. 237;

"Pépin et ses fils reçurent des papes le titre de patrices, qui impliquait la mission d'assurer la sauvegarde du sainte-siège. Le patriciat, qui était une dignité impériale, fut cette fois conféré au prince franc avec l'autorisation et l'aveu de l'empereur. Il ne s'agissait pas, en effet, comme au temps où Grégoire III traita avec Charles Martel, d'associer la France à la rébellion du pontife contre Constantinople. Le légat impérial avait assisté aux conférences de Pavie; la proposition du duc Autchaire s'était produite en sa présence sans soulever de sa part aucune protestation. Il semblait naturel que l'empereur chargeât le

roi de France de ce rôle de défenseur, que lui-même se sentait incapable de remplir efficacement."

So he says a little later; "Nulle part il n'apparaît que le pape ait pris sur lui de conférer de son plein droit une magistrature impériale."

Father Gasquet goes on to speak of the well-known "Fantuzzi Fragment," not at all as believing it to be genuine, but as supplying evidence in that secondary way in which a forged charter often is, on any point other than that which the forger is trying to establish, nearly as good evidence as a genuine one. The document itself will be found in Fantuzzi's Monumenti Ravennati, vi. 264, and in Troya (Cod. Dipl. Lang. iv. pt. iv. 503), and in Martens, Die römischen Fragm. p. 269. It is full of blunders, beginning with the very heading and greeting. Pippin, "Patricium Romanorum"—he is not called "Rex Francorum"—is made to write to a Pope Gregory, which he certainly never did. Its object is to assert for the Roman see a right, not only over the Exarchate, but over a vast deal more, Venice, Istria, Parma, Pistoia, Lucca, the island of Corsica, and what not. So far it may be safely set down as a shameless forgery. But the way in which it sets about to prove the claim is well worth notice. Pope Stephen, when he was troubled by the Lombards, got leave from the Emperor Leo to choose a "patronus," a word which the writer evidently looks on as equivalent to "patricius."

"Beatissimus ejusdem almæ sedis pontifex Stephanus nomine Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum nomine Leonem per legatos suos accessit. . . . Petit ut licentiam haberet, vel quidquid vellet circa hoc Regnum per Patronatum, defensionemque nominis nostri elegamini [eligere (Bettis)] sibi, suisque eligere solute valeret, cujus petitionis intercedente eodem clavigero Regni cælorum isdem Imperator adsensum prebens literis suis, non solum Romanis, sed et nobis innotuit, quod eidem Pontifici concessæ [concessam] haberet licentiam amicis, et tutorem sanctæ suæ Ecclesiæ senatuique Romano, atque cuncto Exarcatui Italico illi subjacenti Patrono fœderis roborationis firmare quantum se plurimis tribulationibus autum [auctum] hinc inde circa vicinitatem suam perferebat. Igitur per legatum ejusdem Imperatoris, nomine Marino, uterque [utroeque] nobis epistolæ oblatæ sunt."

Pippin, it must be remembered, is speaking. He goes on to tell of the invasions of Aistulf, of the Pope's visit to Gaul, of his own embassy to Aistulf—by which he promised the Lombard king twenty-seven silver *solidi* and twelve thousand in gold, to keep quiet—of the Pope's sickness and recovery. Besides the figures, he is made to give some dates (p. 505) which should be noticed;

"Præcipimus ut ex regnis nobis a Domino subditis, comites, tribuni et duces et marchiones post octavas paschæ nostræ adessent præsentiæ, cum quibus de talibus inire debuissemus consilium. Cumque jussum nostrum fuisset impletum, et omnes eodem die coram nobis adstarent, statuimus cum consensu et clamore omnium et tertio Kalendas Maiarum in Christi nomine hostilitate Longobardiam adissemus."

This looks like an assembly at Quierzy, where Pippin kept Easter in 754, mixed up with the march of the army in May, 756. He then goes on to speak of a promise conditional on success ("si Dominus Deus noster pro suis [Petri] meritis sacrisque precibus victores nos in gente et regno Longobardorum esse constituerit") of the Exarchate and all the rest "necnon et omnia quæ pridem tuæ *per imperatoris largitiones* subsistebant ditioni." All that he asks for himself is "solummodo ut orationibus et animæ requiem profiteamur et a vobis populoque vestri patricii Romanorum vocemur."

The strong Imperial tone of all this is certainly to be noticed. And, if we could be at all sure that the forgery was made at all near to the time of Stephen, say in the papacy of Hadrian, as Father Gasquet suggests, there would be very great force in Father Gasquet's arguments which follow. The immediate object of the forger, he says, p. 237, was simply to mark the extent of the grant to the Roman See;

"Il n'était d'aucun intérêt pour sa thèse de faire dériver le patriciat du roi de France de la collation impériale. Il n'en parle que comme d'un détail presque indifférent, mais connu de tous les contemporains, et propre à ajouter de la vraisemblance à sa fiction. Si le pontife avait pris sur lui de décerner au roi de France la dignité de patrice, l'auteur anonyme qui écrit pour glorifier le saint-siège n'aurait pas commis la faute de démentir cette usurpation. Il aurait craint que sa fraude ne fût par là découverte. Il raisonne ainsi: Pépin a fait au saint-

siège une donation de territoire fort étendue, et il avait le droit d'agir ainsi, puisque l'empereur lui-même, en le nommant patrice, lui avait délégué tous ses pouvoirs en Italie."

But the forgery cannot possibly be as old as the pontificate of Hadrian. To make Pippin address a Pope Gregory, to make Stephen send to an Emperor Leo, are very bad mistakes, which are not likely to have been so near to the time, and the phrase "imperator Constantinopolitanus" cannot have been used before 800, and it is not likely to have been used till a good while after. Nor again would a writer at all near to Pippin's day have confounded "patronus" and "patricius." The document beyond all doubt belongs to a later time, say to that of Otto the Third and Gregory the Fifth, when papal and Imperial ideas were more friendly than at any other time since Charles the Great. Scheffer (Beichel, Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, v. Band, 2te Hälfte, p. 205, Innsbruck, 1884) brings strong arguments to show that it was put together out of documents of Lewis the Pious and Otto the Great. Still there is something very remarkable in the Imperialist tone of the document. The doctrine that Pippin held his patriciate by an Imperial grant, that the Pope held by an Imperial grant whatever he held or claimed to hold would be doctrines agreeable to Otto the Third or to any other Emperor. But to say that such a grant in the eighth century must have come from an Emperor reigning at Constantinople, and to take the rule of such an Emperor so quietly for granted, certainly shows that the forger, though he blundered somewhat in dates and names, and though he did not scruple to lie when it was for the good of the Roman Church, still had a grasp of the real state of things in Italy in the days of Constantine and Pippin, to which many scholars of our own day have not reached.

But I confess that I am amazed when I find Father Gasquet going on to refer to one of the most daring fictions in the world as of some authority. He refers to the "Chronique du Mont-Cassin," as "bien informée des événements auxquels se trouva mêlé Carloman, et qui essaie de justifier le frère de Pépin et l'abbé du monastère du rôle que leur prêtent les annalistes du saint-siège." This is passing strange, as he can refer to no "Chronique du Mont-Cassin" except that wonderful Epitome, of which I have said something in the last Note. It

is there that we find the words which he quotes; only they are not uttered at Saint Denis, but at Monte Cassino. It is there, if anybody likes to believe it, that Pope Stephen, in company with seven Cardinal Bishops, with the three Kings and Patricians, Pippin, Charles, and Karlmann, and the elder Karlmann to boot, prays to Saint Benedict in this fashion; "Sedem apostolicam protege, Romanum Imperium et hos gloriosos patricios . . . defende." Presently follows; "Omnia præcepta et privilegia pontificum et imperatorum idem pontifex cum supradictis patriciis renovans." The forger of the "chronicon portentosum" in the twelfth century was not thinking of Emperors reigning at Constantinople in the eighth.

I am afraid that, of Father Gasquet's two authorities, one proves nothing and the other very little, and that, to show that Constantine Koprônymos had something to do with the patriciate of Pippin, we must trust mainly to the likelihood of the case. Still it is a gain to have the matter again brought forward, a gain to see that anybody has a notion of the position of the Isaurian Emperors in Italy. But there is a much earlier writer to whom I must also refer. I was struck in the third volume of Waitz with these words in a note at p. 80; "Luden's Meinung IV. p. 207, dass der Papst im Auftrag des *ost-römischen* Kaisers gehandelt, ist ganz ohne Grund." I had not then looked at Luden; but the notice suggested that he ought to be looked at, and I found that he was very well worth looking at. When a man says "Dass der Papst im Namen oder im Auftrage des Kaisers gehandelt, hat Nichts gegen sich," one sees that he has got the sow by the right ear. In short, Luden (Geschichte des teutschen Volkes. Gotha, 1828) has given what is, in some respects, the best narrative of these matters, because he is the only writer who has fully grasped the true nature of an Emperor of the eighth century. In the passage which Waitz rules to be "ganz ohne Grund," he goes most thoughtfully into the whole matter. I had made up my own mind before I read him; but, when I read such an exposition of things as I find in the following extract, I will not say, "Pereant qui ante nos," &c., but rather thank Waitz for sending me, by his scornful reference, to so clear a statement of views to which I had come independently;

"... hatte sich der Papst zu der Reise nach Gallien entschlossen,

gewiss nicht ohne die Zustimmung des kaiserlichen Sendboten. Mithin hatte der Papst bisher durchaus im Einverständnisse mit dem kaiserlichen Hofe in Constantinopel gehandelt, und darum ist zu vermuthen, dass dasjenige, was er in Gallien gethan, nicht gegen den Willen des kaiserlichen Hofes geschehen sei. Endlich zeigen auch die nächsten Ereignisse, dass die Ertheilung des Patriciats an den König der Franken wenigstens keine feindliche Handlung gegen den Kaiser gewesen sei, sondern dass Pippin vielmehr für den Kaiser gestrebet habe: denn er stellet seine Forderungen an den König der Langobarden wenigstens in so fern auch zum Besten des Reiches, als er auftrat für eine Kirche des Reiches. Indess ist nicht zu läugnen, alles ward in einem gewissen Halbdunkel gehalten und die Wörter wurden bei den Verhandlungen so gewählet, oder die Worte wurden so gestellet, dass sie leicht für den Kaiser oder gegen den Kaiser gedeutet werden konnten, je nachdem Zeit und Umstände diese Deutung forderten oder jene."

The second question, In what formal sense was the title of Patrician bestowed on Pippin? is not a very hard one, if we keep it distinct from the third. For the Emperor to bestow the rank of Patrician on any king to whom he wished to pay a compliment or of whom he wished to make any use was a most obvious and natural thing. Over the word "Patricius" itself we need raise no difficulty whatever. It is simply the highest rank in the Empire after those which implied some share or shadow of Imperial power. It was a rank, not an office; but it was consistent with the holding of any office, and patrician rank was commonly bestowed on the holders of the highest offices. It is only the particular form "Patricius *Romanorum*" which raises the slightest difficulty. It is the turning into a formal title of a form of words which had now and then (see p. 152) been used as a mere description. In our utter lack of real evidence, we may be allowed to doubt whether the Emperor knew anything of the addition "Romanorum." Yet in the particular case of Pippin the addition was intelligible, perhaps necessary. I have suggested (see p. 153) that the familiar use of the name "patricius" in one part of the Frankish dominions would make it needful to add some qualification when it was applied to the Frankish king. Pippin

was to be a Roman Patrician, something different from this or that Patrician in Burgundy. And however the word "Romanorum" got there, it would certainly not be taken by anybody as applying to the Ῥωμαῖοι everywhere from Lilybaion to Mount Tauros, but definitely to the Romans of the Old Rome or at the most of Italy. If Constantine meant that Pippin might be Exarch, if he could get back the Exarchate from Aistulf, it would not be very wonderful. It would be a great gain if we could see the title in Greek.

But the third question, because of its inherent vagueness, is much harder. What the Pope meant Pippin to be, and what Pippin understood that the Pope meant him to be when he became Patrician of the Romans, are two things which are themselves not quite the same, and both are quite distinct from the question what the words Patrician of the Romans would naturally and formally mean. None of the writers who record the bestowal of the patriciate tell us what they understood the patriciate to mean. If we turn to Pope Stephen's letters, it is not easy to distinguish the powers and duties (if any) directly involved in the patriciate from the duties which Pippin was held to have taken upon himself by the various "promissiones" and "donationes" which we shall have to speak of in the next Note. In the first letter of Stephen after his journey to Gaul and the first Lombard campaign (Jaffé, Mon. Car. 34) there is a good deal about a "donationis pagina," something about Saint Peter having anointed Pippin and his sons kings; the patriciate is nowhere directly mentioned, unless it is the "præfulgidum munus," the "bonum opus," which distinguished Pippin and his sons from all their predecessors (cf. p. 178), "ut per vos exaltetur ecclesia et suam princeps apostolorum percipiat justitiam." In the second letter there is again a good deal about a promise and a "donatio"; the kings are again told that they were anointed kings to do the "bonum opus" just defined. But of the patriciate there is not a word. Nor is the patriciate named in the third more private letter to Pippin (Mon. Car. p. 53), though it is open to any one to take it as referred to when the Pope says, "Tuæ amantissimæ excellentiæ vel dulcissimis filiis et cuncte genti Francorum—per Dei præceptionem et beati Petri—sanctam Dei ecclesiam et *nostrum Romanorum reipublicæ populum* comisimus prote-

gendum." Truly the "respublica" has become something different from what it was but lately. The Pope has set the King of the Franks and the whole people of the Franks to look after it; but there is nothing about a patrician. Saint Peter himself, so strong on his special relation to the Franks, does not even use the name in his greeting. But, what we should hardly have looked for, a patriciate vested in Saint Peter himself, and contrasted with the patriciate of the Frankish king, seems to be asserted in one of the letters of Pope Hadrian to Charles the Great (Mon. Car. p. 290. See Ducange in *Patricius*, and Savigny, i. 360); "Quia, ut fati estis, honor patriciatus vestri a nobis irrefragabiliter conservatur, etiam et plus amplius honorificæ honoratur, simili modo *ipsum patriciatum beati Petri fautoris vestri*, tam a sanctæ recordationis domni Pippini magni regis genitoris vestri in scriptis in integro concessum et a vobis amplius confirmatum, irrefragabili jure permaneat." The meaning of this flourish may be better discussed when we come to consider the "donatio"; but it is surely, as regards the title, a mere flourish. There is again a reference to the patriciate of Charles in another letter of Hadrian (Mon. Car. p. 267), where he calls on the King "pro honore vestri patriciati," and complains that royal "missi" have been sent to the election of an archbishop of Ravenna. It is from notices of this kind that we have to put together our notions both of the patriciate and the "donatio." Ravenna had been given to somebody, anyhow to Saint Peter in some shape; the Patrician thought that nevertheless he might exercise a very kingly right there; the Pope thought he might not. Did Hadrian object because Ravenna had been given to Saint Peter or because the Patrician had no business to meddle with such matters anywhere? He claims free election for the church of Ravenna, subject to some kind of reference to the apostolic see. In the absence of any express description of the rights and duties of the Patrician, as understood on either side, there is in truth no way of finding out except by seeing, from a heap of scattered notices, what kind of authority Pippin and Charles really exercised at Rome or Ravenna from 754 to 800.

In this case it is not wonderful if different scholars have been led to different views about the matter. Savigny (Geschichte des römischen Rechts, i. 310–313) does not say

much about the patriciate; but in a note he seems to define the Frankish king as being in that character the Pope's *Schirmvogt* in Rome, while the Pope himself (see chap. i, and below, p. 416) was a patrician in the Exarchate. Gregorovius (ii. 273 et seqq.) seems to have, naturally enough, some difficulty in distinguishing the promise from the bestowal of the patriciate—one might perhaps take the promise as a kind of coronation-oath—but he has a fairly distinct theory as to what the patriciate was. The Imperial supremacy still lived on in name, or at least was not formally denied ("blieb noch stillschweigend im Princip anerkannt"); but the Pope and the Roman people named Pippin as "Defensor" of the Roman Church ("Defensor der Kirche und ihres weltlichen Eigentums"). This was done by virtue of a "Beschluss des gesammten römischen Volkes." Yet such a vote must have passed before Pippin set out for Gaul, and it is hard to find a place for it amongst all the negotiations at Rome and Pavia. The Patrician was the defender of Rome ("der König habe als Patricius der Römer die Pflicht der Verteidigung Roms"); he was (note on p. 275) the "Advocator" of the Church. He notices that Pippin is often spoken of in the Papal and other Roman letters as a *defender*, but never formally as a *Defensor* (Mon. Car. 71, nosterque post Deum defensor), but that Charles the Great uses the title formally. He points out how the Popes tried to give the patriciate an ecclesiastical character ("die Politik der Päpste leitete diese nur aus dem göttlichen Beruf, dessen Symbol die Salbung gewesen sei"). The Patrician represented the Emperor (he had "die Jurisdiction im Exarchat und in Rom im Namen des Kaisers und Reichs"). The powers of the patriciate grew, against the will of the popes; it changed "aus einer bewaffneten Advocatur zur Gewalt oberherrlicher Jurisdiction."

An almost formal use of the word "defensor" is found in the report which the Moissac annalist (followed by him of Metz) gives of the messages which passed between Pippin and Aistulf. Pippin speaks of "sancta Romana ecclesia, cujus ille defensor per divinam ordinationem fuerat." This surely means the patriciate. The bestowal of the patriciate is not mentioned in this writer's description of the unction; but his text seems to be imperfect, and the omission is supplied by the Metz writer.

Hegel (Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien, i. 209) rules the patriciate of Pippin to be the "Statthalterschaft im Ducat von Rom," formerly dependent on the Exarchs but latterly on the Popes. The Pope did not mean to give over to him the government of Rome ("die Herrschaft von Rom an sie abzutreten"); he only sought a mighty protector who would think honours and titles enough.

Waitz (Verfassungsgeschichte, iii. 80) refers approvingly to Hegel, but pronounces the views of Gregorovius to be "fast alles unbegründet." The patriciate in some sort continued the Empire, but, as we have seen, it was bestowed on Pippin without any reference to the reigning Emperor. The Patrician was mainly concerned with Rome and its duchy.

"Pippin empfing damit ein Recht, das an sich freilich auf den Begriff des Kaiserthums zurückging, bei dem aber von einer Beziehung zu dem *oströmischen* Kaiser keine Rede war. Der Papst übertrug es ihm, indem er als Vertreter des in der Idee fortlebenden Reiches handelte; er bestelle den fränkischen König als den, welcher die Rechte desselben wahrnehmen, insonderheit die Kirche und ihren Bischof schützen und vertheidigen sollte."

Döllinger, in his discourse "Das Kaiserthum Karls des Grossen und seiner Nachfolger" (Akademische Vorträge, Dritter Band, von I. von Döllinger, p. 83, 1891), goes more fully into the nature of the patriciate. The people of Rome, with the Pope at their head, devised it as something less strong than throwing off the authority of the Emperor altogether. The passage is remarkable; we are in the grasp of a strong hand indeed;

"Darum ward die Mittelstellung des Patriciats geschaffen, und dem nun im Frankenreiche herrschenden Königshause übertragen. Damit sollten die Päpste und die Römer sich keineswegs von der Unterordnung unter das Imperium zu Constantinopel lossagen. Aber sie hatten schon so oft, von dort her verlassen und preisgegeben, für sich sorgen müssen, und das thaten sie auch diesmal, als kein andres Mittel, das Joch der verhassten Longobarden abzuwehren, sich darbot. Dieses Patriciat nun war eine römische Reichswürde; indem die Römer und der Papst an ihrer Spitze und in ihrem Namen sie den Frankenfürsten übertrugen, machten sie die Träger des Patriciats

zu einem hervorragenden Gliede der römischen Respublica, und handelten demnach bereits in dem Gefühle, dass das römische Volk im Nothfall ein Amt, eine Würde verleihen könne, auch ohne dazu von Byzanz ermächtiget zu sein."

He goes on to say, with full truth, that the patriciate of Pippin was the first step towards the Empire of Charles. He rejects the view of Hegel that it had something to do with the Roman duchy, but quotes with approval his saying about the mighty protector who would be satisfied with titles and honours. He goes on to point out the difference between the Patrician and any duke, of Rome or elsewhere. He remarks that though the Popes applied it to the Frankish kings as a formal title, yet that they themselves never used it as such till after Charles had conquered Lombardy and taken the title of King of the Lombards. Then for the first time the title had a meaning for him; then he was able to discharge the calling which it implied of a *Schirmvogt* over the Romans ("der römischen oder nicht-longobardischen Bevölkerung"). He did not, by taking the patriciate, mean to become an Imperial officer: but neither did the Romans, by bestowing it, mean to separate themselves from the Empire. The patriciate gave no territorial power ("keine Gewalt auch nur über ein Dorf"); it was essentially a *Schirmvogtei*, but not only over the Roman Church but over the Roman people. He remarks on the connexion of the patriciate with the anointing, and speaks of the application of the word by Hadrian to himself (or to Saint Peter) as a vague use of the word. The Pope was a real ruler under the nominal supremacy of the Emperor; the Patrician was not a ruler but a *Schirmherr*; yet his *Schirmherrschaft* might, in cases of necessity, amount to actual dominion.

Döllinger further refers (p. 86) to the offer made by Gregory the Third to Charles, but he speaks of the office offered to him as *patriciate* instead of *consulship*. I must think that he does not quite see the distinction between the two. Ranke (Weltgeschichte, v. 31) naturally says less than Döllinger, who is specially dealing with Carolingian matters. He mentions the bestowal of the title on the King and his sons, and adds;

"Dadurch aber wurde die erste Sendung Gregors, welche den Entschluss der Römer, sich der Herrschaft von Constantinopel zu entziehen, ausgesprochen hatte, nahezu erreicht."

In a rough practical sense this is doubtless true; but Döllinger sees more clearly that Stephen did not intend a formal separation from the Empire, Ranke sees more clearly that Gregory did.

There is not much to be found in the special biographer of Pippin, Oelsner (p. 144). He collects some examples of the use of the word, and says, "in dem Patriciatus Romanorum, welcher den fränkischen Königen im Jahre 754 übertragen wurde, lag der Begriff der Herrschaft; nur in diesem Sinne nennt der Papst auch einmal seine eigene Stellung ein Patriciat" (referring to the words of Hadrian quoted above). He collects some examples from the papal letters to show that the Patrician exercised a practical authority in Rome.

Martens, W. (Die römische Frage unter Pippin und Karl dem Grossen, Stuttgart, 1881) has two sections in close connexion (pp. 71 et seqq.), headed severally, "Die neue Respublica Romana" and "Der römische Patriciat Pippin's und seiner Söhne," and another heading Kritische Erörterungen, in p. 98. The book was followed by a second paper (Neue Erörterungen über die römische Frage, &c., Stuttgart, 1882) in which he reviews his reviewers. He has some views of his own. Pippin's unction by Stephen took place in February, 754 (pp. 22, 45); he seems misled by the phrase "post aliquantos dies." By that unction the patriciate was conferred. It had nothing (p. 81) to do with the old patriciate conferred by the Emperors; it was a device (eine freie Schöpfung) of Pope Stephen himself. Being new, it could be, as the Moissac Chronicle says, "secundum morem majorum"; so those words must refer to the kingship only (yet no Frankish king before Pippin was ever anointed). The patriciate was "eine politische Titulatur," an honorary membership (Ehrenmitgliedschaft) of the new "Respublica Romanorum." It had nothing specially to do with the Church, only with the "respublica," except so far as (p. 75) the territory of the republic belonged to the Church, "sancta Dei ecclesia reipublicæ Romanorum." Stephen's Republic was something new. Hitherto "Respublica" had meant specially the Exarchate ("im achten Jahrhundert wurde in Italien unter Respublica (im besonderen Sinne) der under griechischer Herrschaft stehende Exarchat von Ravenna verstanden," p. 72). But Stephen (p. 73) meant also to take in the duchy of Rome.

Of this Republic the Pope was to be the sovereign, but not fully sovereign ("erstrebte Stephan nicht bloss den Ducat, sondern auch den Exarchat der souveränen Herrschaft der Päpste zu unterwerfen," p. 76. "Dem ungeachtet darf man Stephan II nicht als Souverän im wahren und vollen Sinne des Wortes ansehen," p. 77). He was not called "princeps" or "rex"; he was not in short a "papa re." The Republic was independent of the Emperor ("von dem griechischen Kaiser ganz unabhängig," p. 77. "Unabhängig von Byzanz," p. 78. "Ein von *Griechenland* unabhängiges Staatswesen," pp. 79, 84). The form "ducatus" is dropped. That Constantinople is called "urbs regia," that deeds are still dated by the years of the Emperors proves no dependence. Nor was it dependent on the King of the Franks. With him the Pope had a "Freundschafts- oder Liebesbund," "ein ethisches Band" (pp. 26, 78); but no formal tie ("rechtlich," "juristisch," "volkes- oder staatsrechtlich," p. 78). But it was practically (factisch) dependent. This state of things is allowed to have been strange and not without its disadvantage; "War diese Entstehung der Respublica Romanorum singulär und anormal, so barg sie auch für die Zukunft grosse Schwierigkeiten in sich." In fifty years the practical dependence became "rechtlich"; the friend and "Defensor" became "ein Souverän, oder wenigstens ein Oberherr."

In the "Kritische Erörterungen," Martens goes on to dispute against several of the writers to whom I have referred and several to whom I have not, both on the matter of the patriciate and on that of the "Schenkung"—to which we shall come presently. In this kind of discussion one feels more and more keenly how hopeless it is to try to keep up with the endless store of German writers, specially on a subject like this, where the direct evidence is so slight, and where one man may guess as well as another. Martens of course (p. 110) deals a blow at Luden, because his belief that the Emperor had a hand in the business is "selbstverständlich ohne einen Schein quellenmässigen Beleges." Undoubtedly, as far as any direct evidence goes. But then the other guesses have just as little direct evidence for them, and Luden's guess agrees better than the others with the "Quellen" before and after and with the general state of

things. Martens fights no less manfully against every one who looks on the Pope as in any sense a representative of the Emperor; he must be the head of his own new-made "Republic." About the patriciate he disputes against Waitz, Döllinger, Gregorovius, Hegel, and others, to whom I have already referred, and he bestows some notes of admiration (!) on several writers whom I have not come across. He specially argues against Lorenz that the patriciate had nothing to do with the election of the Pope.

Martens has also an Appendix on the Fantuzzi Fragment, which he prints at length at p. 268. He has of course no difficulty in showing it to be a forgery; but he does not seem in the least to understand its importance as a witness to Imperialist ideas.

We come to the great name of Ranke. He (Weltgeschichte, v. 2. 27) makes one remark which comes with special fitness from the author of a "Weltgeschichte," who is not shut up within any narrow bounds of specialism, but has his feet set in a large room. Aistulf chose for the time of his attack on the Imperial possessions in Italy a moment when the Emperor was busily engaged in Asia. Those who chatter about "Greeks of the Lower Empire"—though Ranke himself talks about "Griechen"—would not think of that. Ranke does not go at any great length into the question of the patriciate; but his views must be given in his own clear words;

"Dadurch aber wurde die erste Sendung Gregors, welche den Entschluss der Römer, sich der Herrschaft von Constantinopel zu entziehen, ausgesprochen hatte, nahezu erreicht.

"Rom trat nicht allein für diesen Augenblick, sondern für alle Zeiten unter den Schutz des fränkischen Königs. Dem vom Papst ernannten Patricius fiel eine von dem Kaiserthum unabhängige Autorität zu. Die Würde des Patricius schloss die Pflicht der Hülfeleistung ein, sobald sie für die Stadt erforderlich sein würde."

Dahn, like Ranke, has the advantage of a wide knowledge and grasp of things. He has (Urgeschichte, iii. 876) less to say about the patriciate than about the "Schenkung." He knows perfectly well the relations between the Emperor and the Pope, "der damals zweifellos byzantinischer Unterthan war — eben

hatte er 'Befehle' seines Herrschers befolgt." Only the saying is a little darkened by the word "byzantinischer," and there was no need to go on to say, with a clear fling at Luden;

"Kindisch zu nennen ist daher die Vorstellung, der Papst habe *alle diese Verbindungen mit den Franken* angeknüpft, im Auftrag des Kaisers."

Luden (iv. 207, 208) says no such thing; he merely says of the bestowal of the patriciate, "dass der Papst im Namen oder im Auftrage des Kaisers gehandelt, hat Nichts gegen sich." And one might go on to call it "kindisch" in Dahn when he asks, "Geschah etwa auch die Errichtung des Kirchenstaats, die Verleihung von Ravenna und dem Exarchat, endlich die Krönung Karls im Auftrag des Kaisers?" The distinction needs hardly to be pointed out. In Luden's view, the Pope, confessedly the Emperor's envoy at Pavia, went on in the same character to Ponthion. Only he betrayed his master—I am almost translating Dahn's own words, how the Pope was guilty of a "Rechtsbruch der Treupflicht eines Unterthans"—and so brought about "die Errichtung des Kirchenstaats" and "die Verleihung von Ravenna und dem Exarchat." Dahn shows presently that he knows all about the Imperial embassy of 756; but he seems to have forgotten it just now.

On the patriciate itself Dahn is not very clear; but the following passage is worth noting;

"Den Titel *patricius*—ohne jede reale Bedeutung—zu verleihen, hatten die Päbste, ohne Widerspruch des Kaisers, sich schon längere Zeit verstattet; nur diesen Titel hatte der Pabst Karl Martell gegeben; aber auch Pippin und dessen Söhnen konnte der Pabst rechtsgültig nur diesen Titel verleihen; eine wirkliche Schutzgewalt staatsrechtlichen Inhalts, also einer Art übergeordneter Staatshoheit über der halbsouverainen des Pabstes, konnte dieser *rechtsgültig* so wenig wie 737 oder 774 oder 800 verleihen; denn er *hatte* sie nicht; er war und blieb, dem Rechte nach, Unterthan des Kaisers und die Schritte, welche er, von den Franken unterstützt, zwischen 754 und 800 gethan, dies Verhältniss zu lösen, konnten es nur thatsächlich, nicht rechtlich lösen."

We look back to p. 820, where Dahn describes the offer of the *consulate* to Charles Martel by Gregory. He does not seem to have caught the distinction between the consulate and the

patriciate. And where he gets the supposed patriciate of the Popes is plain enough (see above, p. 396). But in p. 821, just as in p. 876, he puts forth the true relations between the Popes and the Emperors with all clearness.

My own belief will have been made clear already. Pope Stephen went into Gaul with a commission from the Emperor. He was to ask for help for the Roman Republic against the Lombards and to offer the rank of Patrician as a reward. It was the mission of Theodoric over again. The Emperor used the words in their ordinary sense. The Pope played on this possibly doubtful meaning; he made the King promise to help the Republic, he bestowed on him the rank of Patrician, using both words in a sense different from that intended by the Emperor. He did not openly throw off his allegiance to the Empire; he did not directly ask the King to do anything hostile to the Emperor; he kept the Empire in the background, and made Pippin accept the patriciate in the sense which Döllinger gives to it, that of a *Schirmvogtei*—I really cannot translate the word—over the Roman Church and over the Roman Republic in the new sense of the word. Stephen wished to do things quietly; he might have frightened Pippin by so bold a proposal as that which Gregory had made to his father. He wanted to get a protector, a *Schirmvogt*, who should silently put the Emperor aside without any open revolt. He wanted one who would come to his help whenever he was needed against Emperor, Lombards, or any other possible enemies, but who would at other times leave him to manage his Roman Church and Republic by himself. Between Stephen and the Patrician Pippin this plan answered fairly well. Later popes found that the Patrician Charles was inclined to be somewhat more of a master. And, if they were to have a master, an Emperor might be less displeasing than a Patrician.

In short I do not see any difference between my notions of the actual workings of the patriciate and those of Döllinger—so immeasurably the fullest and clearest of all that I have quoted. Only I must cleave to the belief, which I share with a somewhat antiquated yoke-fellow in Luden, that the formal bestowal of the patriciate was made by Imperial authority. With such evidence as we have, this is a position which cannot

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Note I. p. 172.

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In this Note, as in the last, we must distinguish between the outward order of events and their practical meaning and results. We will first try to find out the time, place, and form of any promises, any grants, made by Pippin to the Pope or to those whom the Pope professed to represent. We will then try to find out what was understood by such promises and grants and what practically came of them. It is, I think, of special importance to distinguish two things which are apt to get confounded, namely mere promises, even on oath, by which the King binds himself to do something which the Pope asks him to do, promises in their own nature contingent on success, and actual grants made when by success the King had become possessed of power to make grants. We often hear of a "donatio," a "Schenkung," of the Exarchate or of something else in Italy made by Pippin at Quierzy or elsewhere during the Pope's stay in Gaul. Now such a grant, in any strict sense of the word, is of course impossible. Setting aside any question about the Emperor or anything else, Pippin could not grant what he had not got; he could at most promise to grant it if

he should ever get it. For my part, I see nothing that could be called a "donatio" in any strict sense till after Pippin's second Italian campaign. But I see something following the first campaign which might easily be called a "donatio" in somewhat laxer language. Up to that time I see nothing but promises which might or might not be set down in writing, but to which the name "donatio," if ever applied, was wrongly applied. That is to say, I hold that Pippin made promises to Stephen while he was in Gaul, that these promises were embodied in a clause of the treaty made between Pippin and Aistulf after the first Lombard campaign, and lastly that Pippin gave the Pope a grant in regular form after the second campaign. This last was strictly a "donatio," a "Schenkung"; the clause in the treaty might easily be called so in a laxer sense. Till the treaty there was nothing to which the name could be at all fairly applied.

Our authorities are, as before, the Life of Stephen, the Frankish annalists, and the references to the matter in the letters of Stephen and other popes. It will this time perhaps be better to look first at our Frankish informants, if only to see how very little they have to tell us.

The older and shorter Annals tell us nothing, except the entry in the Annales Alemannia, Guelferbytani, and Nazariani;

"753. Papa in Franciam venit; commotoque exercitu Francorum, cæde facta in Langobardos, receptas res sancti Petri, reversus est in sedem suam."

The last clause, the important one for us, is the same in all three. As they all mention the second expedition of Pippin, this recovery of the goods of Saint Peter must refer to something which happened after the first, that is to the treaty. From Stephen's letters one might call this an over-cheerful way of looking at things.

The Continuator of Fredegar does not distinctly mention any promise made by the King to the Pope while in Gaul. He tells us the Pope's request without the King's answer; but he says that the King promised the Pope to do something for him may be inferred from his embassy to Aistulf. I have quoted the passages, above, p. 373. There is nothing in them the least like a grant from Pippin to Stephen. The Continuator (120), in reporting the treaty after the first campaign, describes

Aistulf as promising on oath "ut ulterius ad sedem apostolicam Romanam et rempublicam hostiliter numquam accederet." After the second campaign, among the terms of the submission made by Aistulf, "ac quod contra sedem apostolicam vel nefariam faceret . . . plenissima solutione emendaret." That is all; there is not a word of any formal part by the Frankish king at any stage.

In the Annales Laurissenses and those of Einhard, 755, 756, we find very clearly stated—First, a promise of Pippin on behalf of the rights of Saint Peter, implied in his setting out to recover them. Secondly, a treaty with Aistulf after the first campaign, confirming those rights. Thirdly, an actual grant of Ravenna and other lands after the second campaign. The words in Laurissenses that concern us are;

"Pippinus rex per apostolicam invitationem in Italiam iter peragens, justitiam beati Petri apostoli quærendo, Haistolfus Langobardorum rex supradictam justitiam vetando . . . obviam Pippino regi et Francis venit. . . . Incluso vero Haistulfo rege in Papia civitate, justitiam sancti Petri pollicitus est faciendi, unde rex Pippinus cum sacramenta firmata reversus est in Franciam.

"Dum prospexisset Pippinus rex, ab Haistulfo . . . ea non esse vera quod antea promiserat de justitiis sancti Petri, iterum iter peragens in Italiam . . . magis magisque de justitiis sancti Petri confirmavit, ut stabiles permanerent, *quod antea promiserat*, et insuper Ravennam cum Pentapolim et omni exarcatu conquisivit et sancto Petro tradidit."

That the words in italics refer to Aistulf's promise in the treaty, not to any earlier promise of Pippin, is shown by the paraphrase of Einhard, "Pippinus rex . . . Haistulfum . . . obsidione ad impletionem promissorum suorum compulit."

The Moissac annalist records what amounts to a promise on the part of Pippin at Ponthion. The kings lift the Pope from the ground "pro indicio et suffragi futuri et liberationis." He then records the various embassies to Aistulf, his demand on behalf of the Roman Church, including "omnem justitiam de rebus ablatis." We then get a definition of the words;

"Haistulfus requisivit quæ illa justitia esset: cui legati responderunt, Ut ei reddas Pentapolin, Narnias, et Cecanum et omnia unde populus Romanus de tua iniquitate conqueritur;

et hoc sibi mandat Pippinus, quod si justitiam sancto Petro reddere vis, dabit tibi duodecim millia solidorum."

He then goes on to assert an actual grant and seisin of the lands to the Pope as the result of the first expedition;

"Pippinus . . . Haistulfum ita coarctavit ut omnes justitias sancti Petri se redditurum repromitteret. His minis . . . territus, per manus Pentapolim, Narnias, et Cecanum et reliqua debita quæ sancto Petro debuerat, missis domni Pippini regis per vadium reddidit . . . Pippinus vero, accepta benedictione domni apostolici, in pace eum abire permisit, tradens ei Ravennam, Pentapolim, Narnias et Cecanum, et quidquid in illis partibus continebantur."

Then Aistulf belies his promises and drives the Pope out ("omnia quæcumque promiserat contumaciter postposuit et Stephanum papam cum armis a finibus suis expulit"). Then comes the siege of Rome, the second march of Pippin. What followed the second siege of Pavia seems to come from the Continuator of Fredegar.

The Metz Annals are to the same effect. I should be inclined to think that the Moissac compiler had transferred to the first siege of Pavia the events which followed the second.

We now turn to the Life of Stephen. Here Pippin makes Stephen a very distinct promise on oath at the very beginning of things at Ponthion. The Pope prays him (see above, p. 116) "ut *per pacis fœdera* causam beati Petri et reipublicæ Romanorum disponeret." Then the King

"de præsenti jurejurando eidem beatissimo papæ satisfecit, omnibus mandatis ejus et admonitionibus sese totis nisibus obedire, et ut illi placitum fuerat, exarchatum Ravennæ et reipublicæ jura seu loca reddere modis omnibus."

Then the King and his nobles confirm at Quierzy (see above, p. 375) what the King alone had promised at Ponthion ("statuit cum eis quæ semel, Christo favente, una cum eodem beatissimo papa decreverat, perficere"). Karlmann argues in vain; "excellentissimus Pippinus Francorum rex professus est decertare pro causa sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ, sicut pridem jam fato beatissimo spoponderat pontifici."

Then comes the first Lombard campaign. The treaty which followed it appears very distinctly as a treaty;

"Ad hæc Christianissimus Pipinus Francorum rex ejusdem

et hoc sibi mandat Pippinus, quod si justitiam sancto Petro reddere via, dabit tibi duodecim millia solidorum."

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Then Aistulf belies his promises and drives the Pope out ("omnia quæcumque promiserat contumaciter postposuit et Stephanum papam cum armis a finibus suis expulit"). Then comes the siege of Rome, the second march of Pippin. What followed the second siege of Pavia seems to come from the Continuator of Fredegar.

The Metz Annals are to the same effect. I should be inclined to think that the Moissac compiler had transferred to the first siege of Pavia the events which followed the second.

We now turn to the Life of Stephen. Here Pippin makes Stephen a very distinct promise on oath at the very beginning of things at Ponthion. The Pope prays him (see above, p. 116) "ut *per pacis fœdera* causam beati Petri et reipublicæ Romanorum disponeret." Then the King

"*de* præsenti jurejurando eidem beatissimo papæ satisfecit, *omnibus* mandatis ejus et admonitionibus sese totis nisibus *obedire*, et ut illi placitum fuerat, exarchatum Ravennæ et rei*publicæ* jura seu loca reddere modis omnibus."

Then the King and his nobles confirm at Quierzy (see above, p. 375) what the King alone had promised at Ponthion ("statuit cum eis quæ semel, Christo favente, una cum eodem beatissimo papa decreverat, perficere"). Karlmann argues in vain; "excellentissimus Pippinus Francorum rex professus est *decertare* pro causa sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ, sicut pridem jam dicto beatissimo spoponderat pontifici."

Then comes the first Lombard campaign. The treaty which followed it appears very distinctly as a treaty;

"Ad hæc Christianissimus Pipinus Francorum rex ejusdem

beatissimi patris, et boni pastoris audiens, adimplensque admonitionem Deo dilectam pacem inientes, atque in scripto fœdera partium adfirmantes inter Romanos, Francos, et Longobardos, et obsides Longobardorum isdem Francorum rex abstollens: spopondit ipse Aistulfus cum universis suis judicibus, sub terribili, et fortissimo sacramento, atque in eodem pacti fœdere per scriptam paginam affirmavit se illico redditurum civitatem Ravennatium cum aliis diversis civitatibus."

Then comes all that happened between the first and the second expedition. Then, while Pippin is on his march, comes (see p. 189) the Imperial embassy to Pippin, and the interview between George the Protosecreta and the King. The Emperor's demand runs thus;

"Nimis eum deprecans atque plura spondens tribui imperialia munera, ut Ravennatium urbem vel ceteras ejusdem exarchatus civitates et castra imperiali tribuens concederet ditioni."

Pippin in like sort refuses;

"Ut easdem civitates et loca imperiali tribueret ditioni. Asserens isdem Dei cultor, mitissimus rex nulla penitus ratione easdem civitates a potestate beati Petri et jure ecclesiæ Romanæ vel pontificis apostolicæ sedis quoquomodo alienari."

He will not take from Saint Peter what he has given him (see p. 194). Such was his answer ("Hæc prædicto imperiali misso reddere in responsum").

Pavia is now besieged and Aistulf is driven to renew and carry out the treaty of the former year;

"Aistulfus . . . ut veniam illi tribueret [Pipinus] et ab obsidione cessaret, quas prius contempserat conscriptas in pacti fœdere redderet civitates, se modis omnibus professus est redditurum. Et denuo confirmato anteriore pacto, quod per elapsam octavam indictionem inter partes provenerat, restituit ipsas civitates præfatas, addens et castrum quod cognominatur Comiaclum."

And now at last we come to a real "donatio," a real deed of gift on the part of Pippin, a real charter from the King to the Pope, as distinguished from a treaty to which Pippin, Stephen, Aistulf—and perhaps the Emperor Constantine—were all parties. But, besides the grant of Pippin, there was also, if words have any meaning, a grant of Aistulf. The passage which described the carrying out of the treaty is very

strangely worded, but it can hardly mean anything else except that each King gave the Pope a charter. The passage last quoted, in which Aistulf appears in the nominative case as the actor, is immediately followed by these words;

"De quibus omnibus receptis civitatibus donationem in scriptis a beato Petro atque a sancta Romana ecclesia vel omnibus in perpetuum pontificibus apostolicæ sedis misit possidendam, quæ et usque hactenus in archivio sanctæ nostræ ecclesiæ recondita tenetur."

This can only refer to a formal grant of Aistulf. But a formal grant of Pippin is clearly referred to a little later. Now comes the account of the progress of the Frankish and Lombard commissioners for the surrender of the cities (see p. 199). Then come these words, in which, according to all grammar, the nominative to the verb is Abbot Fulrad;

"Et ipsas claves tam Ravennatium urbis, quamque diversarum civitatum ipsius Ravennatium ex archatus una cum suprascripta [*al.* subscripta] donatione de eis a suo rege emissa in confessione beati Petri ponens, eidem apostolo et ejus vicario sanctissimo papæ, atque omnibus ejus successoribus pontificibus perenniter possidendas atque disponendas tradidit."

Then follows the list of the towns now surrendered. It would seem that Aistulf, as being in actual possession, first made a grant of the cities to the Pope. Then they were given up into the hands of Abbot Fulrad, as commissioner for the King of the Franks. The King of the Franks, being thus for a moment in actual possession, further grants them to the Pope. The Lombard charter is simply laid up in the archives as an important document; the Frankish charter, the gift of a devout friend, is solemnly offered on Saint Peter's tomb.

This is to my mind a very clear story, as to the main outline of which there seems no reason to doubt. We have the promise, the treaty, the double grant by Aistulf and by Pippin, all in their places; the smaller question as to the order of events in Gaul we have discussed already. The mere promise is made in Gaul; the treaty follows the first campaign; the first real "donatio" follows the second. Between the treaty and the grant comes the Emperor's demand. And I do not

see that the letters of Stephen, if we allow for the difference between his rhetorical way of writing, and the more formal style of the Biographer, in which we can see traces of the actual wording of documents, at all upset this order of things.

It is true that in the very first letter of Stephen to Pippin in the time between the two expeditions, the Pope (Mon. Car. 35, 36) talks repeatedly and emphatically of a "donationis pagina" already given to himself by the King. 'Justitiam beati Petri in quantis potuistis exigere studuistis et per donationis paginam restituendum confirmavit bonitas vestra." So again; "propria vestra voluntate per donationis paginam beati Petri sanctæque Dei ecclesiæ reipublice civitates et loca restituenda confirmastis." Presently he speaks of "quod semel beato Petro polliciti estis et per donationem manu firmatam." So again in the next letter (p. 40) he speaks of "quæ per donationem beato Petro offerendum promisistis;" he tells them that Saint Peter has got their written document ("sicut cyrographum vestram donationem princeps apostolorum firmiter tenet"), and goes on about the duty "ut ipsum cyrographum expleatis." I doubt if there is anything about it in the twin letters to the Frankish people and to Pippin, or in the one written in the name of Saint Peter.

In not one of these phrases is there anything to imply a "donationis pagina" written in Gaul. The letters to be sure are addressed to the three kings and patricians; but it is surely pressing language too far to argue that the words used by the Pope necessarily imply that the document referred to was actually signed by the two boys as well as by their father. Otherwise there is nothing whatever against the notion that the "donationis pagina" may mean nothing more than the clause in the treaty which bound Aistulf to give up Ravenna and the other cities. It would be quite in the papal style to put Aistulf out of sight, and to speak of the treaty, a treaty dictated by Pippin and signed by Pippin, as a charter granted by Pippin to himself. Stephen's own rhetoric contrasts with the careful language of his biographer. The biographer talks of a "scripta pagina," but it is a "fœdus," a "pactum," a treaty in short; he says nothing about "donatio" till after the second expedition.

I do not think that it would have come into anybody's head to carry back the "donatio" to the time of the Pope's presence in Gaul, if it were not for a well-known passage in the Life of Hadrian (p. 186), where a reference is made to a written document seemingly drawn up at Quierzy. Charles the Great has just come to Rome after his Lombard conquest. Among the ceremonies of the King's reception the Pope causes a promise made at Quierzy to be read afresh ("ipsam promissionem quæ in Francia in loco qui vocatur Carisiacus facta est sibi relegi"), which of course implies a written document. And a very wonderful document it is, granting to the Blessed Peter and to the Pope a widespread dominion indeed, taking in Spoleto, Benevento, Venetia, Istria, and the island of Corsica. His faith must be strong indeed who believes that Pippin granted or promised all this at Ponthion or Quierzy or anywhere else on the Gaulish side of the Alps. The statement in truth bears falsehood on the face of it, and the whole story of which it is a part has been largely rejected by scholars. To an examination of these points we shall come later; I wish now only to point out that, even if we accept this story, we are no nearer to a formal "donatio" or "Schenkung" of anything at Ponthion or Quierzy. The Life of Hadrian speaks only of a "promissio," not of a "donatio." The "promissio" might in a certain sense form a written document; that is, it would be in no way wonderful, if either Pippin's private promise or the public decree of the Marchfield was set down in writing and kept by Stephen. All that is needed is that this document, if it ever existed, should be distinguished from the "donationis pagina" spoken of by Stephen in his letters. Why either Hadrian in any real application to Charles or a biographer of Hadrian in putting together such a story as seemed to him convenient should refer to this earlier promise, and not to the treaty or the final charter, is plain enough. In whatever was done at Ponthion or Quierzy or Berny the boy Charles had a formal share; he was personally bound by those acts; he was not in the same way personally bound by his father's acts in Italy. Hadrian therefore perhaps really referred —it is certain that his biographer represents him as referring— to a promise personally made by Charles in Gaul as the groundwork of his demands upon him. Out of this I feel sure arose

the notion of a formal "donatio" or "Schenkung" as made in Gaul, as distinguished from a mere promise to give help and to carry out certain objects in case of success, whether set down in a written document or not. This last is all that could possibly have happened while Stephen was in Gaul. And if any one chooses to maintain that the mere promise was set down in writing at Quierzy or elsewhere, the thing is likely enough in itself, and it makes no difference to the general run of the story. There is no evidence for it, and that is all. The point is that there was not and could not be any "donatio" at that stage. We shall see, as we go on, that some scholars have imagined a "donatio" of Pippin, distinct from the treaty, after the first campaign. The only thing to be said against such a notion is that there is no evidence for it; otherwise there is no unlikelihood in the belief, and it would make Pope Stephen's references to the "donationis pagina" still clearer. So again, the most natural construction of the last passage quoted from the Biographer of Stephen is that Aistulf as well as Pippin gave a charter to the Pope. But the point is of no great consequence; it is open to anybody to make Pippin the nominative to "misit," instead of Aistulf. The construction is a little harsh, as indeed it is anyhow, and that is all. The main points are that Pippin did not make any real "donatio" to Stephen in Gaul, but that he did make one after the second defeat of Aistulf.

All this is comparatively plain sailing. It is quite another matter when we come to the long controverted questions as to the force and extent of the "donatio." What did the King mean to do? What did the Pope understand him as doing? How were the rights of the Emperor touched in the matter? These are much harder matters, to which we must now turn. First of all, it will be well, as in the last Note, to go through the opinions of various scholars on the matter. And in so doing, it will be well to see how things looked in the eyes of some of the earlier scholars. The men of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, on whose foundations we often build without knowing it, had some advantages over their later successors. They had some special advantages in this particular matter. It is plain that the notion of an Emperor of the Romans, ruling over the Old Rome from the New, was not to

them the great difficulty which it has so often been in later times, even to men of real learning. They found it in their books, and they did not stumble at it. They found it in the formulæ of the age, and they took those formulæ in the literal and grammatical sense, and did not make it their business to cast about for non-natural senses. Thus Le Cointe (Annales Ecclesiastici Francorum, v. 418, ann. 755) is not at all troubled at the mention of the "Respublica Romanorum"; he puts on it the obvious meaning which the phrase had borne for many ages and says, "Lex Aistulfo hæc imposita est ut ablata cum ecclesiæ Romanæ tum imperio Romano pro juribus utriusque restitueret." When Pippin refuses to make restitution to the Empire, his comment (v. 483) is;

"Anno superiori Pippinus cum adveniens Langobardos bello seu capta seu quæ cum ecclesiæ Romanæ tum Imperio Romano ablata fuerant ecclesiæ imperioque restituenda decrevit, nec aliud rogatus erat a Stephano papa, mutata fuit sententia; ecclesiæ statuit utraque concedere."

I do not see the change of purpose so clearly as the old French scholar; but it is pleasant to come to one to whom, as to Gregory the Great, John of Bielar, and many others, it did not occur for a moment that "respublica Romana" could mean anything different from "imperium Romanum." Pagi however (Critica in Baroniam ad ann. 754) takes him to task for this belief. Muratori in his eighteenth Dissertation (Antiq. Ital. i. 988) brings together endless passages to prove the use of "respublica" in the Imperial sense; but he speaks with somewhat of an uncertain sound in the Annali, ann. 755 (vol. x. 264, Florence, 1827; iv. 310, 4to). He does not at all deny that "respublica" ought to mean the Empire; but he holds that the grant of Pippin to the Pope did shut out the sovereignty of the Emperor in the lands ceded. Having referred to Le Cointe, he says;

"A questa opinione non acconsente il padre Pagi, ma per quanto mi sono io ingegnato di probare nelle Antichità italiane, indubitata cosa è che sotto il nome di republica veniba l'imperio romano, benchè non apparisca, qual cosa fosse restituta ad esso imperio, essendo anche incerto, come restasse in questi tempi il governo di Roma. Pretende bensì il suddetto padre Pagi, che da li innanzi i romani pontifici avessero in

pieno lor dominio non meno essa città, che l'esarcato; ma senza che si veggano probe concludenti di tal opinione. Certo non si può mettere in dubbio la donazione dell' esarcato e della Pentapoli fatta dal re Pippino alla santa sede romana, con escluderne affatto la signoria dei Greci Augusti, ma se avvenisse per conto di Roma e del suo ducato lo stesso, e se Pippino si riservasse dominio alcuno sopra lo stesso esarcato, non pare finora concludentemente deciso come altrove osservai."

Le Beau (Histoire du Bas-Empire, xiii. 430), writing in 1770, seems a little divided between his allegiance to France rather than to the Holy See and his own literary allegiance to the Empire whose history he is writing. He tells the whole story, including the Imperial embassies, without anything that calls for special remark; he does not enter on the sense of the word "respublica"; but when he comes (p. 433) to the promise of Pippin to the Pope, his Imperial loyalty breaks forth;

"Ce fut alors que dans un entretien secret le Roi promit au Pape avec serment qu'il le protégeroit de tout son pouvoir, et qu'après avoir retiré l'Exarcat et la Pentapole des mains des Lombards, au lieu de rendre ces contrées à l'Empereur, il en feroit présent à saint Pierre et à ses successeurs. Il est difficile de croire que saint Pierre ait accepté cette donation. Le Roi donnoit et le Pape recevoit ce qui appartenoit à l'Empereur, alors souverain légitime du Pape. Constantin étoit hérétique; il étoit hors d'état de défendre l'Italie; mais ni l'hérésie ni la foiblesse ne donnoit aux autres aucun droit sur ses Etats. Ce n'est que le consentement tacite des successeurs de Constantin et la durée d'une possession non contestée, qui peut avoir légitimé cette donation dans les successeurs d'Etienne."

He goes on to discuss the policy of Pippin, and some way further on (p. 446) when he comes to the Imperial embassy of 756 he puts, after the manner of Livy, speeches into the mouths of the Imperial envoy and of the King which are hardly to be made out of our only authority, the Life of Stephen. Pippin is made to claim the Exarchate by the same right of conquest by which the Franks held Gaul and the Empire itself anything that it held. It is his, and he has made it his with the object of giving it to Saint Peter, and not to any one else.

The series of more recent scholars may well begin with Sismondi (Histoire des Républiques Italiennes, i. 125). He could hardly be expected to take the word "respublica" in the same sense as Le Cointe and Muratori. He holds that from about 726 to the coronation of Charles the Great, there was "un simulacre de république, qui subsista obscurement dans Rome," and which was specially lively during the pontificate of Gregory the Third. So in a certain sense there was, if we are not thereby obliged to allow that this is what is always meant by "respublica," especially in an Imperial mouth. This "republic" is further (p. 129) defined to be "le gouvernement de Rome et des provinces qui, après s'être détachées de l'empire grec, demeuroient indépendantes." And this explanation is justified by a very odd translation of a passage in the Life of Stephen (p. 172) where he is spoken of as one "rempublicam dilatans, et universam dominicam plebem . . . ab insidiis eruit." This is perhaps as early an example as could be found of "respublica" in the new sense; but it is passing strange when the "dominica plebs" become "le peuple souverain." Sismondi looks (p. 130) on the "donatio," as a gift of sovereignty, as never having been carried out, and which neither Pippin nor Charles nor Lewis ever meant to carry out. But he adds, settling Muratori's doubt about the Patrician;

"Ces mêmes princes enrichirent le Saint Siège par des largesses plus réellement profitables; ils lui donnèrent le *domaine utile* d'une partie de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole, c'est-à-dire, les fruits et la rente de la terre; tandis que la souveraineté de ces mêmes provinces étoit réservée à la république romaine, au patrice, et en fin à l'empereur d'Occident. Cependant l'obéissance d'un grand nombre de vassaux étoit attachée à ce domaine utile; en sorte que le pape, qui depuis longtemps étoit reconnu pour le premier citoyen de Rome, en devint aussi le premier et le plus puissant baron."

He then quotes the opinion of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (De Them. ii. p. 62) with the comment that "même au dixième siècle, le papa n'était encore qu'un des plus puissans seigneurs de Rome."

Savigny Geschichte des römischen Rechts, i. 310 et seqq.) has more to say about the "donatio" than he has about the patriciate, and he refers both to Muratori and to Sismondi.

He asserts the grant of Ravenna, the Exarchate, and the Pentapolis by Pippin to the Pope. He argues against the doctrine that the grant was a mere grant of property, conveying no rights of governmént ("die Schenkung von Pippin habe nur Güter zum Gegenstand gehabt, nicht die Regierung des Landes; wenigstens nicht gleich im Anfang"). He argues that the Pope was a practical ruler ("die wirkliche Ausübung regierender Gewalt von Seiten des Pabstes hat keinen Zweifel") from his sending judges and other officers to the ceded towns, and from his treating those who denied his authority as rebels ("Aufrührer"). He specially quotes the letter of Hadrian to Charles in 774 (Cod. Car. 172), in which he speaks of his predecessor sending judges to Ravenna; he refers also to the letters which in Jaffé are numbered 56 and 77. He remarks that the grant was to the Church and the Roman Republic (see p. 207), and he quotes the passage (see p. 396) in which Hadrian speaks of a patriciate as vested in Saint Peter as showing that the Pope held the rank of Patriarch and the authority of Exarch ("der Pabst aber wurde Patricius des Landes; d. h. Statthalter mit sehr freyer Gewalt, wie sie bisher der Exarch ausgeübt hatte, und mit dem höchsten Rang nach dem Kaiser"). He then goes on to explain that the "Respublica Romana" so often spoken of was not the city of Rome, nor yet the existing Empire ("noch weniger das *Griechische* Reich, gegen welches ja die Feindschaft laut ausgesprochen ward"). It was rather, in some way which is not very easy to understand, the beginning of a restoration of the Western Empire. The existing Empire—"Greek" in Savigny's language—was a mere usurpation in which Italy was dealt with as a foreign and conquered land. The restoration of the Western Empire was perhaps designed all along; but till its accomplishment, the Pope was independent, not admitting the sovereignty of the Frankish king. With the Empire of Charles his independence ceased. The chief arguments for the Pope's independence are the Pope's title of Patrician, and the leave given by Hadrian to Charles (Cor. Car. 67, p. 268 Jaffé) to take columns from Ravenna. The Frank was a helper, but not a lord; so he argues against Muratori.

"Es war vielmehr das alte westliche Reich, welches mit diesem kleinen Anfang, obgleich noch ohne sichtbares Ober-

haupt, wieder hergestellt wurde, vielleicht schon mit dem Gedanken an die bald nachher erfolgte förmliche Herstellung. So gedacht erscheint das ganze Unternehmen gar nicht als eine Empörung gegen den rechtmässigen Herrscher, den Griechischen Kaiser, welcher vielmehr selbst diese Länder nur als eine Usurpation besass. . . . Mit dieser Ansicht ist eine Oberhoheit des Fränkischen Königs nicht vereinbar, die auch in der That nicht behauptet werden kann . . . Dieses allerdings änderte sich durch die Herstellung des Kaiserlichen Namens und von dieser Zeit an war die Abhängigkeit des Pabstes nicht zu bezweifeln."

Luden (iv. 215, 500) is of course true to the rights of the Empire, as against Muratori, Savigny, or any one else. He specially, and not without reason, lifts up his hands at Muratori's doctrine that the "signoria de' Greci Augusti" came to an end.

In this view there is no doubt as to the true meaning of the gift. The lands given to the Church of Rome were given just as they might have been given to the Church of Rheims or of Mainz. They made the Church of Rome richer than any other Church; but that was all; the grant in no way interfered with the relations of the Bishop of Rome to his sovereign the Emperor;

"Der Pabst erhielt den Exarchat und alles Land, das in der Hand der Langobarden gewesen war, als Kirchengut; er erhielt es, wie die Kirchen überall Güter besassen; und wenn eine Kirche durch diesen Erwerb reicher wurde, als irgend eine Kirche in der christlichen Welt, so wurde doch in seinen Verhältnissen zum römischen Reiche nichts geändert; er blieb Bischof des Reiches und hörte nicht auf, der Hoheit des Kaisers unterworfen zu sein."

He goes on to say that the Pope could not willingly let these lands pass again into the immediate possession of the Emperor, for fear of any iconoclastic doings in them; he further needed some compensation for the possessions of the Roman Church in Southern Italy and Sicily which had been confiscated by Leo. Pippin, in making the grant, exercised a right of conquest, for which he is not to be blamed. But the making of the grant in no way bound Pippin to meddle between the Pope and the Emperor.

p. 218. "Es blieb dem Kaiser überlassen, den Bischof, welchen er als seinen Unterthanen ansah, in das Verhältniss zu bringen, das er für gut hielt. War der Kaiser ausser Stande, den mächtigen Geistlichen in Gehorsam zu erhalten, so konnte doch Pippin gewiss nicht verpflichtet sein, ihm seinen Arm zu leihen."

In the notes Luden further emphatically denies that the grant gave the Pope the Imperial rights over Rome or in any way touched Rome or the Roman duchy at all. He examines the application by Hadrian (see above, p. 396) of the word patriciate to Saint Peter or to himself, and rules it to be "nur ein Spiel mit dem Worte Patriciatus." He lastly goes on to discuss the connexion between the grant and the embassies which were exchanged in the next year between Pippin and Constantine, of which we shall speak presently.

Hegel (Städteverfassung, i. 216) sees many things much clearer than most writers. He describes the grant, quoting the words of Stephen himself (see p. 209) as made "an die römische Kirche und das römische Reich (respublica)." He then goes on to explain that this last word does not mean the rule of the Emperor ("die Herrschaft des *griechischen* Kaisers"), which he holds to be forbidden by Pippin's answer to the Imperial embassy. The Pope used an ambiguous phrase in order to win a practical dominion for himself without formally casting off the authority of the Emperor;

"Der Pabst gebrauchte diese ungewisse Vorstellung, um sich sehr gewisse und wirkliche Hoheitsrechte anzueignen, indem er mit vieler Gewandtheit einerseits das römische Reich in die römische Kirche aufgehen liess, und auf der andern Seite der Oberherrschaft des *griechischen* Kaisers immer noch einen wenigstens ideellen Raum verstattete."

He insists on the formal acknowledgement of the Imperial authority in documents and on the coin, and adds that out of the grant of Pippin grew the temporal dominion of the Roman Church—he carefully avoids saying that Pippin in any way founded that dominion.

Gregorovius (ii. 287 et seqq.) clearly brings out the uncertainty of the whole matter in consequence of the loss of the original deed of grant. He brings out no less clearly that, whatever the grant was, it had nothing to do with Rome or the

duchy of Rome, but only with Ravenna and the other lands which Aistulf had just given up. He too asserts in the strongest way the continued formal acknowledgement of the rights of the Emperor ("die Fortdauer der Oberherrschaft von Byzanz, *die ich als für Princip jener Zeit* anerkenne"), though his authority practically ceased ("Jedoch die Kaiserliche Gewalt war thatsächlich erloschen"). But Pippin took the lands from the Emperor, and gave them to the Bishop of Rome in a character which I do not quite understand;

"Er gab sie dem Bischof von Rom nicht als einem geistlichen Fursten, nicht als einem ausserhalb der Reichsgewalt stehenden Souverän, sondern als dem factisch anerkannten Haupt der Stadt Rom und dem Repräsentanten der römischen Republik *im Sinne des westlichen Reiches in Italien.*"

He says that the Pope covered his "usurpation" with the name of Saint Peter, as a convenient way of answering Imperial protests ("ein solcher Prätendent den Reclamationen von Byzanz entgegenzutreten ganz geeignet war"). Still, though the ceded lands practically passed away from the Empire as well as from the Lombard kingdom, though the Pope held the "Landeshoheit," still he held in it forces only as a Lieutenant of the Emperor ("der Pabst in jenen Ländern nur als ein Vicar des Kaisers, oder als ein Nachfolger des Exarchen und Patricius von Ravenna erschien").

Waitz (Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, iii. 81) is not very clear. When Pippin had overcome Aistulf, and taken his conquests from him,

"Sie wurden dem h. Petrus und seinem Stellvertreter, oder wie der Pabst selbst genauer schreibt, der Kirche und dem *Reich* der Römer übertragen; der Bischof der Stadt Rom empfing sie *für das Reich und als Vertreter desselben*, zugleich aber für die Kirche, die mit jenem in der nächsten Verbindung gedacht ward. Wie ein Recht des oströmischen Kaisers hier nicht mehr anerkannt wurde, so nahm auch Pippin für sich ein solches nicht in Anspruch. Auch in Rom war von einer Herrschaft oder Oberhoheit Pippins nicht die Rede."

Yet he adds that all relations with the Emperor ("der Kaiser des *Ostens*") were not given up; at Rome men still dated by the years of his reign. He adds again most truly;

"Es waren schwankende unklare Verhältnisse, die sich so

ergaben, wie sie der Bischof wohl in seinem Interesse fand, Pippin sich wenigstens gefallen liess."

Abel (Der Untergang des Langobardenreichs in Italien, 36, 37) talks of a "Schenkung von Kiersy," which he places after the anointing of Pippin. He infers from the often referred to passage in the Life of Hadrian (see p. 395) that such a "Schenkung" was made then and put into a written shape. And he conceives that it took in all that is mentioned in the Life of Hadrian. But, though he speaks of a "Schenkung," he sees (p. 39) that "die Schenkung wäre also vorerst ein blosses Versprechen gewesen." He describes (p. 46) the treaty after the first Italian campaign, the Imperial embassy (pp. 52, 53), and lastly (p. 54) the real "Schenkung" after the second Italian campaign, when "Pippin stellte eine besondere Urkunde aus, worin er alle diese Städte der römischen Kirche schenkte."

It was of no importance to Döllinger (Das Kaiserthum Karl's des Grossen, pp. 326, 375) to go into any exact details as to time and place. But he seems to speak (p. 327) of a "Schenkung" made at Quierzy, and renewed after each of the Italian campaigns. "So stand es in der Urkunde von Kiersy 754, und auch bei dem Frieden mit Astolf 755 und in der erneuerten Schenkung von 756 waren diese Gebiete [das Exarchat mit der Pentapolis] dem Pabste zugeeignet worden."

In his main examination of the question he begins by remarking the darkness into which the whole subject is thrown through the document itself not being forthcoming. The "Schenkung" took in the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and Narni. He enlarges on the fact that the "Schenkung" is spoken of as a "Restitution," which is inconsistent with its being in any strictness a grant to the Roman Church. If that had been the ground taken, we should not have heard about the Republic, and we should have heard something now, as later in Pope Hadrian's time, about the donation of Constantine ("in welchem Falle man annehmen müsste, dass ihm die um diese Zeit erstandene Schenkung Constantins als Besitztitel vorgezeigt worden sei"). The grant was made to the Roman Republic, and to the Pope only as the representative of the Republic. The Roman Republic, in his view (p. 375), is equivalent to the Roman people;

"Das Zeugniss des Papstbuches ist entscheidend für die Thatsache, dass Pipin mit der Uebergabe des Exarchats und der Pentapolis nicht ein geistliches Fürstenthum, einen Kirchenstaat gründen, sondern diese Länder der Fürsorge des Papstes als Vertreter der Respublica im Gegensatze gegen Longobarden und Griechen anvertrauen wollte, und dass dies auch die Form war, in welcher der Papst und sein geistliches und weltliches Gefolge dem Könige ihre Bitte vortrugen" (p. 376).

His notions of the "Republic" are then more fully explained (p. 326);

". . . Pipin die Länder dem Papste als dem Vertreter der national-italiänischen Respublica übergab, so dass der römischen Kirche nur die in diesen Gebieten befindlichen Patrimonien zufielen, und er und die Päpste gebrauchten den Ausdruck 'zurückerstatten,' weil sie die byzantinische Herrschaft über diese Provinzen als eine lange, durch die Eroberung unter Justinian begonnene Usurpation betrachteten, welche das autonome Recht der italisch-römischen Respublica nur faktisch unterbrochen, nicht aufgehoben habe. Durch die longobardische Eroberung und die Besiegung der letzteren durch die Franken waren demnach die Ansprüche der Respublica wieder erwacht und lebenskräftig geworden, und Pipin's Akt war, von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus betrachtet, in Wahrheit eine Restitution. Der Papst aber war damals der einzige, der als natürlicher Schirmvogt oder Patricius der nicht longobardischen Italiäner das Zurückgegebene in Empfang nehmen konnte."

There is not much in Sickel's (Acta Karolina, ii. 389) remarks on "Acta deperdita," bearing on Pippin; but he reckons among them a "promissio Carisiaca" as well as the "donatio" of 756. He remarks that the different promises, grants, whatever they were, gave different rights in different places; 'an gewissen Orten nur um privatrechtlichen Besitz, an andern um Hoheitsrechte."

The grant of Pippin is incidentally referred to by the writer who veils himself under the name of Janus (Der Papst und das Concil, Leipzig, 1869, p. 143). Döllinger had brought in the "Schenkung" of Constantine; "Janus" assumes that that "donatio" was shown to Pippin, referring specially to the act of the King ("diese den Franken so ganz fremde Huldigung") in holding the Pope's bridle (see p. 132). Pippin was won over

by false documents, the "donation" being one, and the letter from Saint Peter another.

Oelsner (König Pippin) has a whole chapter (p. 129) devoted to "die Pippinische Schenkung." He argues against much that has been said both by Döllinger and by "Janus." He altogether casts aside any reference to the donation of Constantine, of which he looks on the mention in the Life of Hadrian as the earliest. The act of Pippin as *strator* proves nothing, as the *strator* (στράτωρ) was well known long before (p. 127). He also casts aside what Döllinger says about "Byzantine usurpation"; the Pope might be the "heir" of the Roman Republic; he was not its "representative" (Vormünder). He begins his argument (p. 129) by saying that the question is, What happened at Quierzy in 754? To this he too is led by the passage in the Life of Hadrian. The gift there attributed to Charles is meant as a renewing of the gift of Pippin; but it is not to be taken as telling us what the contents of the "Urkunde von Quierzy" really was. In that "Urkunde" there was nothing about Istria or Venetia (139); perhaps there was in the treaty "inter Romanos, Francos, et Longobardos." For, though Oelsner insists so strongly on the act at Quierzy, he clearly saw (135–138) the necessary difference between the mere promise made then and the treaty and the real "Schenkung" of 756.

Oelsner holds (p. 134) that the "Schenkung" was by no means confined to the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. Its object was that "das den Langobarden entrissene Land sollte in den Besitz und unter die Botmässigkeit des Papstes kommen." It took in everything that the Lombards had at all touched, it took in, and more than took in, Rome and the Roman duchy ("So bildete denn die Stadt Rom und der römische Ducat den Kern der Pippinischen Schenkung").

He afterwards (p. 139) goes on to explain what he means by "Besitz" and "Botmässigkeit" just above. Up to this time the Pope had simply been a great landowner ("ein reicher Grundherr"), possessor of certain "patrimonia," like those of any other bishop. He now received political rights over his people ("übte er fortan über seine Untergebenen politische Hoheitsrechte aus"). Oelsner goes on to collect a great number of examples, chiefly from the letters of Hadrian, to show the exercise of political power by the Popes. But he adds that

this fact was not singular; the growth of the political power of the Popes was (p. 143) of essentially the same kind as the "Immunitätsrechte" of other prelates. At the same time the Pope was not sovereign ("besass auch der Papst nicht die volle Souveränetät in seinem Lande"). He says this, not so much on account of the supremacy of the Emperor ("der griechische Kaiser" of course), which he looks on as practically abolished and going on as a mere formality ("die wesenlose Fortdauer einer Formalität"), as because of the real power of the Frankish king. A "päpstlicher Staat" was founded by the Franks; but it stood to them in a "Schutzverhältniss"; the Frankish kings had a "Schutzrecht" and a "Schutzherrschaft." He brings together (144) many passages to show the authority of the Frankish kings. The Franks were brothers of the Romans, partly "in dem Sinne dass Beide das Volk des Eigenthumes Petri sind," but also because the same prince was King over the one and Patrician over the other. He then goes on with the remarks on the patriciate which I have referred to already (see above, p. 399), and winds up with the conclusion that the gift of Pippin did in effect found the States of the Church;

"So lag in dieser Neubildung doch der Keim der päpstlichen Souveränetät; das römische Bisthum war zur *sancta Dei ecclesia reipublicæ* (152) *Romanorum* geworden; der Kirchenstaat war gegründet."

Martens (Die römische Frage, p. 21 et seqq.) admits of no written document in Gaul. Pippin swore an oath at Ponthion and made a solemn promise at his unction. Between the two (p. 29) he draws this distinction;

"(1) In Ponthion wurde ein Eid geschworen: in S. Dionysius erfolgte hingegen nur ein formloses, nicht durch Eid bekräftigtes Versprechen.

"(2) In Ponthion übernahm Pippin allein und ausschliesslich eine Verpflichtung: in S. Dionysius wurden neben Pippin auch dessen zwei Söhne mitverpflichtet, und der Papst selbst leistete seinerseits ein Versprechen.

"(3) Das eidlich bestärkte Versprechen von Ponthion hatte eine wesentliche politische Tendenz, indem durch die Erfüllung desselben die Vindication des Exarchats von Ravenna erzielt werden sollte: die Promissio von S. Dionysius hingegen war

ein kirchlicher Act, und erzeugte der Kirche gegenüber umfassende Verpflichtungen."

He holds, as I do, that the "donationis pagina" so often spoken of by Stephen between the two Italian campaigns is no other than the treaty with Aistulf (pp. 54, 55). Even then Pippin did not formally promise; he only confirmed (acceptet) the promise of Aistulf. He holds (as I do) that the real "Schenkungsurkunde" did not come till 756, after the second Lombard campaign. This was the "Restitutionsact" (p. 56), and he discusses at some length the force of the words "restituere," "reddere," and the like, as applied to them. The particle *re* does not always keep its full force in Latin compound words—any more, he might have added, than it does in modern French compound words; but the Pope clearly meant the words to be taken in their strict sense, "Rückforderung," "zurückgeben," &c. He discusses the legal and moral aspect of the case at some length. He fully sets forth the relation of the Pope as a subject of the Empire—it is odd that a man who can do this so clearly can call the Roman Empire "Griechenland," a word which, if it meant anything just then, could mean only the theme of Hellas. He sees that Stephen bore himself as a subject of the Empire up to the moment of his starting for Gaul. At that point he altogether changed his course; "trat er mit einem ganz neuen Programm auf." He was no longer acknowledged the Emperor; he claimed the "restitution" of the Exarchate and the rest ("der Papst das Exarchat für die Kirche als Eigenthumsobject beanspruchte") because the Imperial government was weak, unpopular, unorthodox, and the people wished for the Pope as their ruler. All this was unlawful and morally to be blamed; only sophistry ("Sophismen") can defend Stephen's conduct. But it was historically necessary ("eine historische Nothwendigkeit"). Constantine was legally justified in asking for his lands back again from Pippin, but he was a poor creature for doing so; he ought rather to have made war.

Ranke (Weltgeschichte, v. 2. 35) has a few words on the whole discussion, which he says show "Scharfsinn und Gelehrsamkeit," but which lead to no result. On the strength of the "donationis pagina," he admits "bestimmte Zusage," "entscheidenden Entschluss," either at Quierzy or at Braisne (Berny).

He comments (p. 40) on the Imperial embassy of 756. It is needless to say that Ranke, though he will talk about "griechische Herrschaft" and what not, fully takes in the position of the Empire. In the Imperial demand "lag der Knotenpunkt der allgemeinen Politik der Zeit." According to all right the lost lands should have been given back to their lawful master the Emperor, and so to do would have established a good understanding between East and West. But Pippin had bound himself to the Pope and gave to him what belonged to the Emperor; "Das Besitzthum des Kaisers wurde in Folge dieser Vorgänge Eigenthum des Papstes" (p. 41). But it is odd that Ranke (p. 41) should put the action of Abbot Fulrad (Vit. Steph. 171; see p. 199) in 756 after the first campaign of 754.

Dahn (Urgeschichte) ventures to grapple with "Altmeister" Ranke, as he calls him (874), on some points. He sees (874, 875) perfectly well that the talk about "donationis pagina" in Mon. Car. 35 (see p. 394) proves nothing as to any document being issued in Gaul; but, on the strength of the words in p. 38, and of the passage in the Life of Hadrian, he accepts (pp. 874, 880) a written document at Quierzy. In that document the foundation-stone of the States of the Church was laid ("ein weiterer wichtiger Grundstein zu der weltlichen Macht des Pabstes, den später sogenannten 'Kirchenstaat'"). A geographical distinction seems to be drawn. With the Roman duchy Pippin meant a grant only of property ("privatrechtliches Eigenthum"), not of full sovereignty; such "Hoheitsrechte" as were conveyed with it were only such "Immunitätsrechte" as were enjoyed by the Frankish prelates. But, besides this, in the lands to be wrested from the Lombard he designed to give the Pope "Gebiete als Territorien wahrer Staatsgewalt." The Emperor was put away, practically, if not formally; the Frankish king had (see above, p. 423) "eine Art übergeordnete Staatshoheit über der halbsouveränen des Pabstes," and this became something more after Charles's conquest of the Lombard kingdom.

He understands (800) the "donationis pagina"—he quotes it as "cartula"—in Mon. Car. 35, 36 of a cession of the cities by Aistulf to Pippin in the treaty, and a grant of them by Pippin to the Pope. He compares the way in which Venice in

1866—as Lombardy in 1859—was not ceded directly by Austria to Italy, but by way of France.

On the final grant in 756 Dahn (906) comments at some length; nearly everything that has happened in Italy since has come out of "dieser Gründung des Kirchenstaats," down to 1870 when it came to an end ("dieses Werk Pippins wieder aus der Geschichte verschwand").

In 1880 H. von Sybel published in his "Historische Zeitschrift" (xliv. or viii. p. 47) a discourse headed "Die Schenkungen der Karolinger an die Päpste." He begins by speaking of the importance of the subject in the point of view of general history, of the great mass of writing to which it has given occasion, and the little result which has been gained. He contrasts the two contemporary accounts of the dealings between Pippin and Stephen, that is, the Life of Stephen and the Continuator of Fredegar, with the version of Pippin's act which is given in the Life of Hadrian. In the former, the promise of Pippin ("das Versprechen, welches Papst Stephan III. in Ponthion von König Pippin erhielt") took in only Ravenna and the neighbouring towns, not even (p. 58) the whole of the Exarchate. In the Life of Hadrian, Pippin is made to grant by charter a vast deal more, Venetia, Istria, Corsica, and what not (Vit. Hadr. 186). Between these two statements, he says, we must choose.

Von Sybel then goes through the events before and after the journey of Pope Stephen into Gaul. He does not leave out, though he hardly values at its proper importance, the joint action of the Pope and the Silentiary at Pavia. In recording the events of Stephen's stay in Gaul, he pays special attention to the different readings in the manuscripts of the Life. In such phrases as "causa Beati Petri [et] reipublicæ Romanorum," "sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ [et] reipublicæ Romanorum," he remarks that the "et" is found only in the later versions. The two accounts, Frankish and Roman, have no substantial contradictions, but each fills up gaps in the other. The promise made at Ponthion did not go beyond—

"ein gegenseitiges Schutz- und Freundschaftsbündniss, durch welches Pippin die Restitution aller der Kirche entrissenen Güter und Gerechtsame verhiess."

There was, he holds, no direct promise of the Exarchate, or

any part of it, to the Pope; but (p. 54) the promise was most likely understood to take in some authority at Ravenna ("gewisse Schutz- oder Hoheitsrechte über Ravenna"). The promises of Aistulf after his first defeat, embodied in the treaty of peace, were (p. 56) the same as those of Pippin; but Pippin now further embodied them in the form of a charter of gift of his own to the Pope. This, Von Sybel allows, is not recorded by the Biographer at this stage; but it is to be inferred from the passages in Stephen's letters which speak of "donationis pagina," and the like. He then mentions the Emperor's demand for the restoration of the Exarchate and Pippin's refusal. The "donatio in scriptis" after the second defeat of Aistulf (Vit. Steph. 171) was a charter of Aistulf, not of Pippin. It is not perfectly clear whether Von Sybel holds that both this charter of Aistulf and the former charter of Pippin were laid up together in the Roman archives. His words are;

"Jetzt berichtet auch der Biograph, über die Zuweisung aller dieser Städte an den hl. Petrus *sei eine Urkunde Aistulfs ausgefertigt worden*, die sich in den Archiven der römischen Kirche befinde; sodann habe Pippins Kommissär, der Abt Fulrad, nach vollzogener Ueberlieferung der Städte die Schlüssel derselben und *die von Pippin ausgestellte Schenkungsurkunde* am Grabe des hl. Petrus niedergelegt."

From the list of cities in the Biographer, p. 171, we learn, according to Von Sybel, what was the territorial extent of the grant. It did not take in Bologna and Imola, older Lombard conquests, nor Farrara, nor yet Osimo and the southern part of the Pentapolis. All these, with Faenza and Ancona, were (p. 59) the subject of a fresh engagement of surrender on the part of Desiderius (Mon. Car. p. 64). And besides the territorial grant, the *Schenkung* took in (p. 59) rights and possessions of the Roman Church ("Güter und Gerechtsame") in various parts of Italy, which could neither be restored nor ascertained all at once.

On the exact position of the Pope towards the cities which formed part of the grant, and on their relations either to the Emperor or to the King of the Franks, Von Sybel does not enlarge. The latter part of his article is devoted to an examination of the alleged confirmation of Pippin's grant by Charles the Great. To this we shall come at a later stage.

Von Sybel's statement of the case did not fail to stir up some controversy. In the second volume of the "Historisches Jahrbuch" of the "Görres-Gesellschaft," p. 76 (Münster, 1881), is an article "Die Schenkungen der Karolinger an die Päpste, eine Replik gegen H. von Sybel von Prof. Dr. B. Niehues." The writer seems a good deal displeased at having his full belief in a written charter of Pippin at Quierzy in 756, confirmed by another written charter of Charles the Great at Rome in 774, somewhat disturbed by Von Sybel's arguments. He carries his historical inquiry a good deal further back than Von Sybel, as far indeed as the reign of Justinian the Second and even back to the Letters of Gregory the Great. His chief object is to show that the "respublica Romana," the phrase which we have so often come across both in these times and earlier as a common name for the Empire, means, if I rightly understand him, a definite Italian republic, with the Pope at its head, which he seems to conceive as having broken off from the Empire during the Iconoclast disputes. It is Döllinger's notion of "respublica" put into a more distinct shape, or Sismondi's republic extended from Rome over a great part of Italy. It gets startling when Niehues directly denies (pp. 83, 84) that "respublica" ever means the Empire, or at any rate that it is ever used as an official name. The one official name is "imperium." Yet he quotes the passages from the Liber Diurnus in which "respublica" is plainly used in that official meaning, specially the oath of the Bishops (no. lxxv. p. 159), "si quid contra rempublicam vel piissimum principem nostrum quodlibet agi cognovero" (cf. the use of "principatus," "respublica," and "imperium," as equivalent words in p. 215); and he further quotes the passage in the Life of Stephen (p. 166) where the word "respublica" is put into the mouth of the Emperor himself, certainly not to express anything that has revolted against him. The "respublica" is equivalent to the "provincia Italia," "das ehemals griechische Gebiet Italiens, die spätere Republik." One was at first tempted to take these words in their literal and grammatical sense, and to suppose that this Italian Republic took in Naples and Calabria as well as Ravenna and Rome. But we get an explanation further on in p. 214, where we learn that the Italian Republic was the Exarchate together with the Roman duchy ("Ravenna mit Pentapolis

und dem ganzen Exarchat war eben der italischen Republik gleichbedeutend;" and in a note, "Selbstredend ist in den Umfang der Republik stets auch der römische Dukat einzuziehen").

According to Niehues (207), the towns which the Lombards had taken away from this Republic were guaranteed to the Pope by a verbal promise at Ponthion, which grew into a written "Schenkung" or "Schenkungsversprechen" at Quierzy. It is a comfort to hear that the thing was done only in a general way and that the names of the places were not set down ("So ist mir nicht wahrscheinlich, dass sie die Patrimonien der römischen Kirche und die Städte der italischen Republik, deren Restitution sie dem Papste garantirte, im Einzelnen benannt hat"). There is therefore no need to believe that, as soon as the Pope got up from the ground in the chapel at Ponthion, he at once began to talk about Corsica and Istria. The guaranty was made only "schlechtweg und im Allgemeinen," but it promised to the Pope the restoration ("Wiedergewinnung") of all that the Lombards had taken from the Roman Church and the Roman Republic. That this took in Ravenna and the neighbouring cities is plain from the first peace with Aistulf in which (see above, p. 170) he promises to restore them. For that peace (209, 211) did but confirm the arrangement made at Quierzy; only Pippin certainly and Aistulf most likely added to the treaty special charters of gift to the Pope ("ausser der allgemeinen Friedensurkunde noch eine specielle Cessions- oder Schenkungsurkunde des Inhalts"). On one point, it seems to me, Niehues attacks Von Sybel with success. Von Sybel holds that the promise, grant, treaty, did not take in the whole of the Exarchate, and that the towns given up by Desiderius were a distinct cession. Niehues maintains, and I think with truth, that whatever was done about Ravenna or any other cities took in the whole Exarchate and the Pentapolis, and that the fact that some towns were left to be given up by Desiderius was simply because of the sudden death of Aistulf, which interrupted the restoration which he had begun.

These papers of Niehues are most curious for the line, or rather no line, which they take with regard to the Empire. What they show is not the every-day weakness of forgetting its existence. Niehues knows that there was an Emperor, and

that he had something to do with Italy. Even the mission of Pope Stephen to Pavia as Imperial envoy is (pp. 87, 88) recorded by him in a way, though it is clearly not understood. Nor, as we have seen, does he forget the demands of the Emperor for the restoration of his lost lands. Niehues sees the Emperor and does not see him. It would be curious indeed to know his exact notion of the "griechische Kaiser," and the relation in which he fancies him to have stood to the "Italische Freistaat" or "Republik." And I think that Niehues is the first German writer that we have had to deal with who uses such misleading words as "Frankreich" and Stephen's "französische Reise."

Next, as far as I know, in 1884 comes "Pipins und Karls d. G. Schenkungsversprechen. Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der Vita Hadriani. Von Paul Scheffer-Boichorst," which appears in the "Mittheilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung," v. 193 (Innsbruck, 1884). And this is followed in 1887 by an "Exkurs," "Über die Schenkungen der Karolinger an die Päpste," by Kohl the continuator of Richter, in the "Annalen des fränkischen Reichs im Zeitalter der Karolinger," p. 674. The two must in some sort go together, as, according to Kohl, Scheffer-Boichorst, if he has not settled the question for ever and ever, at least got nearer to the end of it than anybody else ("Erst in jüngster Zeit ist die so lange streitige Frage über den Umfang der Karolingischen Schenkung durch den kritischen Scharfsinn Scheffer-Boichorsts endlich ihrer Lösung um ein bedeutendes näher geführt worden"). This may be; but, where guessing is so easy and so pleasant, and where it is impossible to be quite certain, I suspect that we have by no means seen the last "Exkurs" and "Dissertatio" on the matter. Scheffer-Boichorst is directly concerned with the passage in the Life of Hadrian which has been so often spoken of; what Pippin did, as recorded by the writers of his own time, concerns him only as confirming or refuting the statement of the Biographer of Hadrian. To that Biographer I hope to come again; at present it is enough to say that he accepts the passage, with the exception of the list of places to be granted; so again we are not expected to believe that Pippin said anything anywhere about Corsica and Istria. As Kohl makes a separate division for "Die Schenkung Pippins," while

in Scheffer-Boichorst Pippin comes in only incidentally, Kohl's own statement is the clearer of the two; but we must look back to his oracle first; Scheffer-Boichorst then (pp. 200, 201) looks on the "respublica Romana" of our story as equivalent to the "provincia Italia," and on that as equivalent to the Exarchate and the Duchy of Rome. Of this the Pope was the head and representative, seemingly as in some sort an officer of the Emperor, though whether with the Emperor's consent and knowledge we are not told. His words are;

"Nachdem dann das Exarchat als griechische Beamtenschaft aufgehört hatte, da betrachteten sich die Päpste als Vertreter istius Italiae provinciae; sie bezogen die Republik auf die Kirche des hl. Peter und sagten demnach: ecclesia sancti Petri reipublicae, kurzweg sprechen sie auch wohl von nostra respublica. Aber der Zusammenhang mit Byzanz ist dabei gewahrt; die Päpste waren gleichsam nur Statthalter istius Italiae provinciae oder Romanorum rei publicae, und solang der eine und andere Ausdruck begegnet, wird demnach auch die Oberhoheit von Byzanz anerkannt."

He then goes on to quote the charter of Hadrian to Farfa in 772 (Mur. ii. pt. 2, p. 346; Jaffé, Regesta, i. 290), which he says is the last papal document dated by the name of an Emperor reigning at Constantinople. In it the Pope certainly speaks of "nostra Romanorum respublica," though I cannot find the exact words which he quotes (p. 346), "nefarii homines nostræ Romanorum reipublicæ." After that time, he holds, both phrases, "province" and "republic," went out of use, for the Popes bore themselves as sovereigns and no longer acknowledged the Emperors ("die Päpste von der griechischen Suzerainetät Nichts mehr wissen wollten, sondern sich voll und ganz als Souveraine betrachteten"). He refers to a document of Hadrian dated December 1, 781 (Baluzii Miscell. vii. 120; Jaffé, ii. 297), in which, instead of the usual date by the years of the Emperor, the date given is "regnante Domino et Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo." "Ich glaube," he adds, "nun nicht, dass Jemand viel später noch von der Provinz Italien, wie auch von der Republik reden konnte."

Kohl gives a summary of events, the journey of Stephen, the promise at Ponthion, the written promise at Quierzy, "die Zuweisung der römischen Republik, d. i. des Dukats von Rom

und des Exarchats von Ravenna." He does not believe in any formal "Schenkungsurkunde" of Pippin after the first Italian campaign; the "donationis pagina" spoken of in Stephen's letters may be (p. 676, n. 3) the document given at Quierzy, or, if it be objected that that was only a "promissio" and not a "donatio," it may be (as I have all along held) simply the treaty with Aistulf laxly so spoken of. After the second campaign, Aistulf, as well as Pippin (see p. 424), put forth a "Schenkungsurkunde." He seems to look on the cession made by Desiderius as a simple carrying out of the promise of Aistulf interrupted by his death.

I have no doubt that in the endless "Litteratur" on the subject, there is much that I have not come across; but I have brought together a good many of the opinions of modern German scholars as well as the views of some of those who spoke of the subject in earlier times. Now in going through them all, and comparing the opinions of the commentators with the statements of the original writers, one is more and more struck, as several of the writers quoted have very naturally been, with the singular and unhappy lack of results. For my own part, I am free to confess that I rise from the controversy with no very definite conclusions, at least of a positive kind. The truth is that we have no materials to help us to come to any definite conclusion. When all must really turn on the words and construction of a document, we have not that document before us. If anything was set down in writing anywhere in Gaul, it is not now forthcoming. Neither are the terms of the first treaty with Aistulf forthcoming; nor yet the most important document of all, the seemingly real "donatio" of Pippin after the second Lombard campaign. Where the exact words are of the utmost consequence, we have only the reports in the Biographer and the Continuator, in which we seem sometimes to see traces of formal language, but where we can never be quite sure whether we have the real words of documents or the words, necessarily more or less coloured, of the reporters. Where there is no absolute certainty to be had, a boundless field for ingenious guessing is at once opened, and it may be to the charm of this process that we owe the vast mass of "Litteratur" which has grown up on the subject.

After going through so many different arguments, I am not ashamed to say that I still do not know exactly what Stephen asked or what Pippin promised and granted. But I must further add that, being in that case, I believe that I am in very much the same case as Pippin himself. I believe, as I have said more than once, that the King was taken in by ambiguous words, and that, whatever he promised and granted, he did not fully take in the exact meaning, still less the probable consequences, of his own acts. For this Pippin is not to be blamed, except so far as he may be thought blameworthy for acting or listening at all. He might have done more wisely in his own generation, if he had hearkened to Karlmann and the opposition party among the Franks, if he had stayed at home to set in order his Church and realm, and to guard them against Saracens, Gascons, Saxons, and Bavarians. But this is a question which it is idle to discuss; the course of the world's history was destined to be otherwise. As it was, Pippin was outwitted. A man of honest purpose, of clear understanding in ordinary affairs, was no match for the subtle diplomacy of the Italian churchman. When we read that he promised or granted something to Saint Peter and the Bishop of Rome, to the Roman Church, to the Roman Republic, it is vain, even if we could be sure that we have the exact words which passed between Stephen and Pippin, to discuss the exact force of the words as if they were the words of a treaty on which two parties agreed with their eyes open. The Pope meant the words to be taken in the sense most favourable to himself; but he had further to put them in such a shape as might give the least amount of offence to his sovereign, the King's ally, the Emperor Constantine. It is the strange fashion of putting that most important personage out of sight which has led to most of the confusions on the subject. When so much guessing is allowed on all hands, I may be allowed to guess too, and my guess, as I have several times hinted, is that the Pope, going into Gaul as the Emperor's envoy, deceived both Emperor and King by words capable of more than one meaning, and persuaded Pippin to promise something which, through the use of such words, could be construed into a promise of Ravenna and other cities to the Roman Church. It is to be remarked that, in the accounts of the Pope's sojourn in Gaul, there is not, either in the Life

of Stephen or in the Continuator of Fredegar, any mention of Ravenna or the other towns of the Exarchate or the Pentapolis. The phrases are all perfectly vague; something has been taken from the Roman Church by the Lombards, but we are not told exactly what. And phrases about Saint Peter, the Roman Church, the Roman Republic, are all so mixed up together that, as it is hard to see what was to be restored, it is no less hard to see to whom it was to be restored. When documents, if they ever existed, are not forthcoming, we cannot be really certain; but it is an allowable guess that the phrase "respublica" was used, in order that the Emperor might take it in the old and received sense, while Pippin might gradually be taught to take it in some new sense, in which Roman Church, Roman Republic, and Saint Peter, patron of both, were cleverly mingled together.

That the words "Respublica Romana" did begin to put on a new sense during these years is, I think, clear. When in the Life of Stephen (166) the Emperor demands of Aistulf "ut reipublicæ loca diabolico ab eo usurpata ingenio proprio restitueret dominio," there can be no doubt that the "respublica" spoken of is simply the Empire. Constantine assuredly did not ask for the cities to be restored to any one but himself. When in the same Life (p. 172) Desiderius promises "Reipublicæ se redditurum . . . civitates quæ remanserant," it may be that the old form is kept on for form's sake; but what is practically meant is that the cities were to be given up to them. The use of words is much the same as when the citizens of Gloucester, summoned to surrender to Charles the First, answered that "they held the city for the King, and would surrender it only to his Majesty's orders *signified by both Houses of Parliament.*" The Pope just now stands in much the same relation to the Emperor as that in which "both Houses of Parliament" stood to the King at the siege of Gloucester. The passages between these two in which "respublica" occurs are all during Stephen's stay in Gaul, and in all of them the "respublica" is mixed up with Saint Peter and the Roman Church (see pp. 168, 169). The word does not occur in the account of the first treaty with Aistulf, nor in the demand of the Emperor and Pippin's reply to it, nor yet in the summaries of the grants of Aistulf and Pippin. The Pope (see pp. 171, 172) is definitely put in its

place. It is only with the promise of Desiderius that we come to "respublica" again. In the letters of Stephen, though he has more to say about Saint Peter and though Saint Peter himself does not mention the Republic, the Republic is mentioned several times (Mon. Car. pp. 35, 36, 42, 65 ; see above, p. 209), and once after the death of Aistulf. In every case the Republic and the Roman Church are more or less mixed up together. We read "beato Petro sanctæque Dei ecclesiæ reipublicæ Romanorum," "sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ reipublicæ Romanorum beato Petro," once, more clearly, "noster populus reipublicæ Romanorum." This last agrees with the still later phrase (see above, p. 394), "nostra Romana respublica." The Continuator of Fredegar also, in recording the first treaty with Aistulf, also couples (see above, p. 407) "sedem apostolicam Romanam et rempublicam."

There must be some reason for this change of language. One of the earlier scholars already quoted, one of those who can see what the ordinary and natural sense of the word is, supposes a change of purpose in Pippin. He first meant to restore the cities to the Emperor; but then changed his mind and gave them to the Pope. This comes rather nearer to what I conceive to be the real story. Only I should not so much say that Pippin changed his mind as that his mind was gradually enlightened. He would at first naturally understand the word "respublica" in its ordinary sense. He would conceive that he was to win back the cities for his ally —in his patrician character one might say his sovereign— their lawful owner, the Emperor. He would gradually be taught that to grant them to the Pope was not inconsistent with the ultimate sovereignty of the Emperor, that such a grant was what was meant by granting "sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ reipublicæ Romanorum," till at last, when the Emperor demanded the restoration of their own cities, he could answer that he had promised to give them to the Pope. But again, in the absence of documents we do not in any case know what were the real words used, and, without such knowledge, all is guess-work.

What then did the grant or restoration, to whomsoever it was to be made, take in? Clearly, I think, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. The mention of Ravenna, which does not

appear in the two strictly contemporary accounts, comes in in the later Annals. And that something was done which concerned Ravenna and the other cities appears from the Imperial embassy of 756. Constantine expected—or diplomatically professed to expect—that the Exarchate would be restored to him as the result of Pippin's victory. We have not the text of the treaty of 754, the treaty between Franks, Lombards, and Romans. It is perfectly possible that it was so worded that it might seem at Constantinople to imply a restoration of the Exarchate to the Empire. But in any case, it must have been so worded that the Pope could put another meaning on it, a meaning which implied the transfer of the Exarchate to the Roman Church. And this almost implies that something which could be taken in that sense formed part of the promise made by Pippin to Stephen while in Gaul. That that promise was set down in writing is likely enough; but, beyond the statement in the Life of Hadrian hereafter to be discussed, there is no evidence that it was. But, in the absence of the document, the point is of no great consequence. As we can only guess at the existence of such a document, we can only guess at its contents. But they must have been something of which the surrender of the towns given to the Pope after the second Lombard campaign could pass as the carrying out. That is, it must have had something in it about the Exarchate.

But this document, if it existed, was at most a promise to give something if the King ever had it in his power to give it. It must be carefully distinguished from the actual grant when the King had it in his power to make a grant. When was that grant made? It seems to me on the whole that, as I have already said, the "donationis pagina" referred to by Pope Stephen in his letters of 755–756 merely refers to the treaty. There is no mention of any separate document on the part of Pippin; but, as we have seen, some scholars try to establish the existence of such a document; and it really makes no difference. The document is not forthcoming; we can only suppose that this first grant which was not carried out was to much the same effect as the second grant which was carried out and whose nature we know from the Biographer's list of towns. We know that, after the second campaign, Pippin did

make a grant which, with some exceptions, was carried out; it matters very little, in the state of our knowledge, whether we suppose him to have made an earlier grant to the same effect which was not carried out, or whether we hold that he was satisfied with a clause in the treaty. Anyhow, I think that the list in the Life of Stephen (p. 171) must be enlarged by the towns afterwards given up by Desiderius (see p. 213). That is, the grant took in the whole Exarchate, that the list of towns in p. 171 of the Life of Stephen is not a list of all the towns that were to be ceded, but only of those which actually were ceded during the life of Aistulf. There is some difficulty about the matter. The account of Abbot Fulrad's progress in the Life reads very much like the record of a transaction which was brought to an end. Still one does not see why the cities which were afterwards given up by Desiderius should have been left out in the original grant, and they are spoken of as if they were something which Aistulf was going to restore or ought to have restored. In the Life (172) they are "civitates quæ remanserant." In Stephen's letter (Mon. Car. 64) they are "civitates reliquæ." These last words are addressed to Pippin, who must have known what he had granted. It is easier then to believe that Bologna, Faenza, Farrara, and Ancona were among the cities which Aistulf was to restore, that he died before the surrender was completed, and that Desiderius gave up the remaining towns, or part of them. This is surely much more likely than to suppose that the grant took in only parts of the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, and that the further cession of Desiderius was something fresh which Pippin had not designed.

On the whole then we have a promise at Ponthion, perhaps put into writing at Quierzy, a promise which, to say the least, could be construed as a promise to grant the Exarchate and the Pentapolis to the Pope. A clause which could be construed in the same way had a place in the treaty with Aistulf, a clause binding Aistulf to give up the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. That clause may have been accompanied by a formal grant by Pippin. The second peace with Aistulf was certainly followed by a deed of grant from Aistulf, accompanied by one from Pippin. In conformity with these the surrender was begun by Aistulf, and carried on by Desiderius.

Nearer than this, in the absence of documents, it seems impossible to come. But the further question remains, What was implied in the promise, or grant, or restoration, of Ravenna or anything else to the Roman Church? First of all, it may be remarked that any words like "reddere," "restituere," or the like, are really out of place, if applied to anything except a restoration to the Emperor of the lands and cities which the Lombard had conquered from him. The Emperor had held them; that is, in the usual language of the time, they had been held by the Roman Republic. They had certainly never been held by the Popes or (for a good many ages past) by any Roman Republic other than that which was another name for the Roman Empire. I confess that I can see no sign of any such definite "Italian Republic" as some of the writers whom I have quoted seem to imagine; but something tending that way must have been growing up; when a Pope could speak of "nostra Romanorum respublica," he assuredly did not mean the Empire, and he could hardly have meant quite the same as the Roman Church. And the new use of the word fell conveniently in with the use of the words "reddere," "restituere," and the like. A promise to "restore the Exarchate to the Republic" would have a very clear meaning in the eyes of the Emperor; it would mean the real restoration of a lost possession to him who had lost it. But the Pope would be able to teach Pippin to take the words in a sense that suited him better. The cities were to be restored to the Roman Republic; by skilful turns of language it would be easy to make the unsuspecting Frank believe that he was restoring them to the Roman Republic, if he gave them to the Roman Church, without any formal exclusion of the rights of the Emperor.

But what did Pippin mean to grant in granting what he did? Was it mere property? Was the Exarchate granted as he might have granted a house or a farm? Was it absolute sovereignty, shutting out all superiority on the part either of the Emperor or of himself the Patrician? What was meant was surely something between the two. The Pope was certainly not meant formally to displace the Emperor whom he still acknowledged as his sovereign. But he was to be something more than a mere landlord. We are in the region of

Immunitates, and *Immunitates* will carry us a long way. If I rightly understand the case, the Pope was not to be a full sovereign, but he was to be something of a prince. He was to have something like the position to which the prelates of Germany gradually rose. The notion of an ecclesiastical principality, not shutting out the acknowledgement of the Imperial sovereignty, but hindering its practical daily exercise, was something new, something not very definitely marked out, something of which we may be sure that the King had but a very vague idea and the Pope himself not a very clear one. But it was something which grew up in after-times at Mainz, Aquileia, and elsewhere, and the action of Pippin seems to have caused the beginning of its growth at Rome. Pippin assuredly did not design to create "the States of the Church," in the sense which those words came afterwards to bear; but he assuredly did an act which led to their beginning.

The vagueness of the whole matter is remarkable. The scholars who have gone most minutely into the matter seem to shrink from saying anything very definite, and there is certainly nothing very definite in the original authorities. The vagueness was doubtless designed. A very minute definition of anything would not have suited Stephen's purpose. His policy was to get all that he could, and to enlarge whatever he got.

If we had the actual words of any of the documents, still more if we knew exactly what passed between the Pope and the King, we might be able to speak with some confidence about the matter. As it is, we can hardly get out of the region of guessing. Only one or two negative points seem clear. The grant did not take in anything beyond the Exarchate and the Pentapolis. It was not a mere grant of an estate. It did not shut out the Imperial supremacy which the Popes still acknowledged. When Pippin refuses to give up the cities to the Emperor, we are not certain that we have his exact words, and the refusal by no means shuts out the Emperor's ultimate sovereignty. Ages after, when ecclesiastical princes had grown a good deal, a refusal to put the Emperor in immediate possession of the lands of any German bishopric would not have implied a denial of the Emperor's position as the Bishop's temporal superior. Something like this, but of course not put

into so definite a shape, I take to have been the relation of the Pope and the Emperor as brought about by the grant of Pippin. But of course the policy of the Pope was to put the Emperor as far as might be out of sight, and to take every opportunity of increasing his own powers at the expense of all others. As I read the story—it is only my guess, like the guesses of other people—Pippin was taken in, and he half felt that he was taken in. He had not fully understood what he was granting, and he presently awoke to the feeling that he had granted more than he had meant to grant. He grew weary of Italian affairs, and took as little part in them as he could. It is clear that he might have made a great deal more of his patriciate, if he had chosen. That he never even went to Rome is significant. But of one thing we may be certain. Though the Popes were striving to cut down the Imperial power to the lowest possible point, they still for many years formally acknowledged it; they never formally disowned it. The Pope was a good deal more than a landlord in the Exarchate; he was not an independent sovereign. The supremacy of Cæsar Augustus was not cast off. It lived on, as a mere name perhaps, a mere shadow, in the hands of Constantine, his son, and his grandson, till it was ready to pass in a more practical shape, from the last Isaurian to the first Frank, from the sixth Constantine to him who was in Latin eyes his lawful successor, the first Charles.

Note 8, p. 191.

THE LETTER OF CONSTANTINE TO PIPPIN.

It is curious how often one is sent to an useful source of knowledge by a contemptuous reference. I remember a German scholar, rather young certainly, who had the presumption to use the words "Stubbs irrig." I might not, perhaps I ought to, have gone to Montfaucon's Palæographia Græca for light on the doings of Pippin. But I found this note in Oelsner, p. 267;

"Das von Montfaucon, Palaeographia Græca, pp. 265–267, aufbewahrte Bruchstück eines griechischen Briefes, worin der Herausgeber ein Schreiben des Kaisers Constantin an Pippin

erkennen will, bietet so geringe Anhaltspunkte für die Benutzung dar, dass wir es lieber ganz übergangen haben."

The chance of something Imperial, preserved and respected by a scholar of a past age, and scornfully tossed aside by a German scholar in 1871, was tempting. I looked up the document, and, though I cannot say that it helped me to any new and important facts, it was certainly quite worth looking at.

The document comes from Saint Denis, and is in a frightfully fragmentary state. It is written in a style which Montfaucon calls *tachygraphia*, which is even harder to read than a modern Greek letter; but Montfaucon kindly printed each word underneath in intelligible type. It is indeed so torn that, as its editor says, "vix divinando aliquid expiscari et qua de re agatur intelligere possimus." Montfaucon however goes on with his fishing, and not without some luck. It is from an Emperor to some king, presumably a king of the Franks, who has been at war with another king, with whom he prays him to make peace. There had been a warlike expedition (ταξίδιον); on the result of which the Emperor blesses the successful king with many blessings. He wishes for a restoration of something, for the safety of his friends and for the overthrow of his enemies ([ἀποκ]ατάστασις φθάνῃ καὶ οἱ [ἐχθροὶ] . . . [ἀπ]όλονται καὶ οἱ φίλοι σώζονται). He blesses him still more, and then suggests peace with the other king;

. . . ἁρμόδιόν σοι ἐστὶν καὶ ὑπομε . . . εἰρη[νεύειν] τῷ προδηλωθέντι [καὶ φιλοχρί]στῳ ἡμῶν τέκνῳ τῷ ῥιγί.

Some fragments of pious phrases follow, and what Montfaucon took to be the Emperor's signature in Latin.

Montfaucon goes on to argue that these fragments fit well in with the relations between Constantine, Pippin, and Aistulf. He does not seem to think that the letter was sent by the hands of envoys who went by way of Marseilles. He seems rather to suppose an earlier embassy during the year 754, while Pippin's first Lombard campaign was still going on; he conceives the Emperor "pacem inter amboe [Pippinum et Aistulfum] componere conatum esse, ac scilicet conditione ut Ravenna et aliæ urbes sibi restituerentur, et quidem amice statim utrasque per literas alloquutum esse, qui ab utroque sibi metueret." Now it certainly strikes one as a little strange if

nothing went on in the diplomatic way between the joint mission of Pope Stephen and John the Silentiary to Pavia in October 753 and the appearance of John and George at Rome about May 756. But we at least find none recorded. And I do not know why this fragment should not be a fragment of a letter carried by John and George in 756. They were sent at a time when it was not known at Constantinople that Pippin had begun his second campaign, but when it was most likely expected that he would begin it. They were troubled when they heard of Pippin's march; they had therefore come to hinder it, that is to keep peace, if they could. By that time peace between the two kings had clearly become the interest of the Emperor; he must have come to see that the Pope had taken him in, and that he had a better chance of getting back Ravenna by diplomacy between the two kings than he would have if Pippin again overthrew Aistulf at the Pope's request.

Nothing of course can be said with any certainty about such a mere fragment. If we had the whole letter and were more certain about it, it would most likely not tell us any new facts. Its contents would most likely be something very vague and formal. The deeper diplomacy of those days was done by word of mouth. Envoys sent from Constantinople at such a moment must have had very elaborate instructions. They must have been told how they were to act according to the many possible states of things which they might find. A formal letter from the Emperor to the King must have been something which would not be out of place under very different sets of circumstances. But the fragment is clearly a fragment of a letter from an Emperor to a Frankish king, and what there is of it well suits the circumstances of this particular embassy. And since Oelsner so scornfully cast aside the opinion of Montfaucon, the views of the elder scholar have been confirmed by more recent palæographers in Germany, France, and England. The fragment is accepted as of the date of Constantine and Pippin, and as sent by Constantine to Pippin, by Wattenbach, Schrifttafeln zur griechischen Paläographie (1876), x, xi, and in his Script. Græc. Specimina (1883), p. 6. It is also accepted by M. Graux in the Journal des Savants (1881), p. 307, and by Sir E. Maunde Thompson in his article

Palæography in the Encyclopædia Britannica (vol. 18, p. 150), where it is called "the single surviving specimen of Greek writing of the Imperial chancery." And these scholars accept Montfaucon's reading of the Greek text of the fragment. Only the Latin word which he read as the Emperor's signature *Constantinus*, they read *legimus*. I owe special thanks to Sir E. M. Thompson for guidance in the matter.

The letter makes one think of its author. It is curious that Gregorovius (ii. 285), who sees the analogy between the relations of Pippin and Aistulf with the relations of Theodoric and Odowaker (though he does not quite see the bearing of that analogy on the patriciate), should talk about "der elende Kaiser Constantin." Such words remind one of Mr. J. M. Neale, when he talks of the "long and peaceful reign of the Slayer of the Bulgarians." Why should Constantine be called "elend"? Gregorovius goes on to talk about his ecclesiastical doings, and tells us how "er hatte weder die Kraft, das verlorne Italien wieder zu gewinnen, noch überhaupt Einsicht in die wahre Lage der Dinge. Mit dem Inhalt des Vertrages zwischen Pipin und dem Papste unbekannt," &c. Likely enough; the Pope, his own subject and ambassador, had taken him in.

An Emperor reigning at Constantinople is of course fair game; so are his ministers. (Martens, Die römische Frage, p. 69, has also much to say against Constantine.) Oelsner therefore (267) sees something very wicked in the Imperial envoys because of the "afflictio" felt by the man whom the Pope had thrust on them, when George the Protosecreta contrived to get away to the Frankish king without a spy at his side;

"Eine im Uebrigen völlig vereinzelte Notiz der Annales S. Bevonis Gandensis, Parte SS. II. p. 187 von einer ähnlichen That erzählte; Anno 752 Hildebertus abbas Gandensis interficitur a consiliariis Constantini impiissimi imperatoris."

The "impiissimus" is still "piissimus" in the dates of papal documents; but that Ghent entry is certainly "vereinzelt," and altogether very odd. Dahn (Urgeschichte, iii. 904) has something to say about the matter, the worthlessness of the authority and the needlessness of the surmise. Still there is the never-failing question, What put so odd

a notion into the compiler's head? And the later the compilation is, the more strongly does the question come. How the counsellors of the Emperor had the chance of killing an abbot of Ghent does not appear; but at any rate the Ghent chronicler was as well informed about the fate of the Iconoclast in the other world as Pope Stephen was about that of Aistulf; "Qui propter hæc et alia facta horribilia quæ perpetravit igne gehennali in corpore et anima atrociter punitur." But does Oelsner really think that, when we read of the Imperial envoys with their unwelcome papal envoy as "affligentes eum valide," it means that they went about to kill him?

NOTE 9, p. 326.

THE EVENTS OF THE YEAR 939.

THE events of the year 939, so far as they deal with the affairs of the two Frankish kingdoms and of the border-land that was disputed between the two, supply an instructive example of the way in which our authorities have sometimes to be used. We have accounts from the Eastern kingdom and from the Western, and one at least from the border-land itself. Now I really think that if a man, without any further guidance, should read the Eastern and Western accounts, it is quite possible that it might not occur to him that they were versions of the same story. Or if he saw that one or two striking events, like the drowning of Duke Gilbert, were clearly the same in both, he would at least think that one side or the other had grossly misstated the story. Each story would show him that the Eastern King Otto had to strive against enemies in Lotharingia; but, with the single exception of Gilbert, who is common to both versions, they would seem to be two wholly different sets of enemies. From the Eastern version no one would find out that one chief enemy of the Eastern king was his Western colleague. From the Western version no one would find out that another chief enemy of the Eastern king was his own brother in alliance with the Western king. The Eastern version tells us only of revolt against a king on the part of his own vassals. The Western version tells of a foreign war between two kings in which each is helped by vassals

of the other. And yet these two stories are only different account of the same facts. Each may in the main be believed; neither contradicts the other in any material point. In both there is a vast deal of that kind of misrepresentation which consists in leaving out facts of such importance that their omission gives the story quite another character. In both there is little or nothing of that kind of misrepresentation which consists in directly misstating such facts as are reported. That is, there is on both sides a great deal of *suppressio veri*, little, if any, of *suggestio falsi*. One who came to the story with some knowledge of the state of things in the two kingdoms would see this for himself, and would be able to a great extent to put together the story from the Eastern and Western versions only. But his work is greatly lightened when he turns to the intermediate version which contains a good many of the facts which are reported by both. In other words, the Saxon version tells us nothing about Lewis, a great deal about Everhard and Henry. The West-Frankish version tells us nothing about Everhard and Henry, but a great deal about Lewis. In the Lotharingian version the names of all three are found.

Our main accounts are five. Widukind in his second book tells the story in his fashion, naturally treating it primarily as a piece of his own Saxon history. The events of Lotharingia alternate with events in Saxony and elsewhere in Germany. The main fact with him is that Henry rebelled against his brother, and that Everhard and Gilbert were partakers in his rebellion. That King Lewis had any share in the matter no one would find out from his narrative. He has no need to speak of him in either of the battles, as he was not present in either. But it is strange that he should leave out all mention of any negotiation between Lewis and the rebel princes, and it is yet stranger that he should leave out a fact which touched German feelings so nearly as the Western king's entrance into Elsass and his withdrawal from it. And one might have thought that, if he did not care to record that certain of Otto's princes commended themselves to Lewis, he would have taken a certain pleasure in telling how several of Lewis' princes commended themselves to Otto. But he has no more to tell us about Duke Hugh and Count Herbert than he has about King Lewis himself. But, whatever he

leaves out, his fault is simply in leaving out. His narrative, where he tells us anything, is perfectly straightforward and trustworthy. He gives us everything in fair chronological order, and alone brings out the fact that Otto, busy with Slaves, Saxon rebels, and foes of this kind and that in other parts of his kingdom, contrived to make three journeys to the Rhine in the one year 939.

Thietmar of Merseburg tells us nothing.

Liudprand, at this time deacon at Pavia, one day to be Bishop of Cremona, must, for our purpose, count, Lombard as he was, for a German writer. He tells us a good deal in the fourth book of his Antapodosis, in the characteristic style of his Antapodosis. His story is essentially the same as that of Widukind, a narrative of the revolt of Henry, Everhard, and Gilbert. But he does not marshal his facts so clearly as Widukind. He leaves out many things that certainly happened, while he has more to tell us of the inner workings of men's minds, about which one cannot be so certain. And he has legends and marvels and eloquent outbursts, for which Widukind had no place. Not a word has our rhetorical Lombard to say about the Western king any more than our sober Saxon.

Flodoard, our no less sober Canon of Rheims, tells the story as it looked at Rheims. He leaves out Henry, as Widukind and Liudprand leave out Lewis; but the omission is of a different kind in the two cases. Widukind must have known perfectly well that Lewis had a good deal to do with the business, and he must have known that his share in the business gave it quite another character from a mere revolt of any of the Eastern princes. Flodoard does not leave out Otto, he could not leave him out; all that he leaves out is Henry. To him it was very important that the Lotharingian princes commended themselves to Otto and the Western princes to Otto; it was very important that Otto entered Lotharingia and that Lewis entered Elsass. But that the beginning of all this was the rebellion of Henry against his brother might really seem not greatly to matter. We can hardly say that Flodoard leaves anything out except the battle of Birthen. If there is any approach to contradiction between him and the German writers, it is as to the way in which King Lewis got him out of Elsass.

The monk Richer of Saint Remigius follows after the canon

of Our Lady. He does not tell us quite so much as Flodoard does; he leaves out some things that Flodoard mentions, as the first Lotharingian application to Lewis; and his narrative is nothing like so orderly as Flodoard's. But we have to thank Richer for that passage in the whole story which, confused and casual as is the way in which it is brought in, really best sets forth the real grounds of quarrel between the kings. This is that referred to in p. 326 from Richer, ii. 18. It comes in a late stage of the war. It contains a gross confusion of generations. It is of course deeply coloured from a partisan point of view. Still it expresses a real state of things. Lewis has (c. 17) entered Lotharingia [Belgica] and Elsass; 'præsenserat enim Ottonem velle in suum jus Belgicam transfundere." Lewis is here conceived as the lawful sovereign of Lotharingia; he has just asserted his right and taken possession; but he expects that Otto will disturb that possession. In the next chapter Otto comes, and we hear his reasons for coming;

"Eo quod collatione paterna princeps fieri Belgicis dedignantibus contenderet, cum ejus pater Saxoniæ solum propter Sclavorum improbitatem rex creatus est, eo quod Karolus, cui rerum summa debebatur, adhuc in canis vagiebat."

I have said something on this passage in p. 326. The confusion between Lewis and his father is odd; the French—one cannot help using the word—colouring is amusing; Otto is spoken of as if he were strong to win a new kingdom instead of striving to hold one of which he was just before in full possession; yet, with all this, these words go to the root of the matter. It is the true Lotharingian theory. The Karling is the lawful lord; if no Karling is to be had, another king may be endured; if the choice lies between a Saxon and a Burgundian, the Saxon is to be preferred; but, when once a Karling again shows himself, Saxon and Burgundian should both pass away. The wonder is that a writer so much later as Richer could have so fully entered into the feelings of the time. But we must not forget that, as his fourth book very clearly shows, the same question came up again in his own day.

The last writer on our list is the monk of Saint Maximin at Trier, be his name Adalbert or anything else. His last editor Kurze tells us (p. x. and Neues Archiv, xv. 32) that his account of this year is made up from Annals of Fulda and from Annals

of Reichenau (Annales Augienses). But the Fulda Annals are confessedly lost; so we may make any guess about them that we please; between the Continuator's narrative and the existing annals of Richenau (Pertz, vol. i) a plain understanding can see no further likeness than there must be between any two accounts of the same event which do not directly contradict one another. To the insular mind, not aspiring to the higher criticism, the Continuator seems to write exactly as a man at Trier, as distinguished from a man either at Rheims or at Corbey, would write. He does not distinguish the three expeditions of Otto so clearly as Widukind does; his order of events generally is not so clear as Widukind's. He leaves out the first application to Lewis, because nothing came of it. He equally leaves out the submission of the Western princes to Otto, because nothing, immediately at least, came of that either. But he looks on both sides of him, as a man of Lotharingia would look. He does not leave out Henry; he does not leave out Lewis when he actually does anything. And he tells us many details which were likely to be better known at Trier than either at Corbey or at Rheims. He is the man of the Middle kingdom—a name which we may surely give to Lotharingia as well as to Burgundy—and he writes as such.

In following the different stages of the story, we may begin with the account of the opening of the war given by Widukind, ii. 15. The stir in Lotharingia is brought in as an appendage to the revolt of Henry in Saxony. Some nameless counsellors, who seem to wish to get rid of him under a fair pretence ("dabant consilium, quo facilius bellum solveretur"), recommend him to go into Lotharingia; "ut videlicet ipse relinqueret Saxoniam sub præsidio militari, et sese inferret Lothariis generi hominum imbelli." The writer adds his own brief, but hardly accurate, comment; "ita factum est ut primo impetu eos rex devincerat et uno certamine fatigaret." He then goes on (c. 16) to explain how Gilbert came to ally himself with Henry, at least to point out that he was already disposed to revolt against Otto. During the war with Everhard the King had sent his chamberlain Hadald to Gilbert, Wid. ii. 16, "Missus Hadaldus, qui erat super cubiculum regis, ad Isilberhtum pro concordia et pace, cum necdum ad neutram partem palam declinaretur." After-

wards went Bishop Bernhard of Halberstadt. Neither was treated as he should have been by a loyal subject. *Therefore* Henry and Gilbert make up their minds to meet Otto in arms when he comes to the Rhine (c. 17, "Igitur copias belli parantes Heinricus et Isilberhtus decreverunt ad Renum occurrere regis"). Then follows the battle of Birthen.

Liudprand, after some wonderful verses in which Henry, "optimus Saxigenum," is rebuked for his rebellion, and addressed as "impie Leviathan Behemoth," goes (Ant. iv. 18–23) more fully into the workings of Gilbert's mind, and specially brings out the agency of Everhard. He tells the story of the former warfare and reconciliation of Everhard and Henry, into the account of which he brings Gilbert, who does not appear in Widukind's narrative (ii. 11, 12) of that matter. Everhard already has Henry as a prisoner; he has persuaded Gilbert to rebel against the King ("Haeverardus sane Gisleberhtum Lotharingorum ducem a regis fidelitate sejunxerat, cujus adjutorio regi non minime resistebat"). Gilbert, though married to the King's sister, had rather be king himself. He does not yield to the persuasions of Everhard, till Everhard promises him the kingdom ("Haeverardus haud secus Gislebertum a regis fide sejungeret, donec regem eum se facturum promisit"). Then Gilbert persuades Henry to turn against his brother on a like promise of the crown ("Gislebertus autem Heinricum hac arte decipere voluit, ut dum suo adjutorio regem devinceret, ipsum deponeret sibique regni solium obtineret"). On these conditions Everhard sets Henry free (c. 21). This is confirmed by what Widukind says in c. 12;

"Heinricus . . . eo pacto crimine solvit eum [Everhardum], quo, conjuratione secum facto contra regem dominum suum et fratrem, sibi regi diadema, si possibile foret, imponeret. Fœdus itaque invicem persuasum."

Widukind however does not seem to know so much of the inmost motives of all parties as Liudprand does. Of course nobody wanted anybody to be king but himself; each meant to make use of the others. And Liudprand now brings in, though he says that it happened at a later time, the story of Everhard and his wife which I have mentioned in p. 344.

Then (c. 23) Gilbert and Henry make war upon Otto, and the battle of Birthen follows.

Here is not a word about King Lewis or about the West-Frankish kingdom in any shape. Yet one cannot doubt that this conspiracy of Everhard, Henry, and Gilbert, got up in Lotharingia against Otto, is the same which Flodoard records under the year 939, as the first application from Lotharingia to Lewis to which he refuses to listen;

"Lotharienses Othonem regem suum deserunt, et ad Ludowicum regem veniunt, qui eos recipere distulit ob amicitiam quæ inter eos, legatis ipsius Othonis et Arnulfo comite mediante, depacta erat."

This first application from Lotharingia is not recorded by Richer; but it seems implied in the singular way (ii. 16) in which he brings in the second embassy to which we shall come presently. Neither of the Western writers mentions the battle of Birthen, clearly because it was waged in a war with which their king refused to have anything to do.

The account from the border-land itself, that of the Continuator of Regino, begins with what seems to be rather a summary of the events of the whole year than a direct account of its first stage. His words are;

"Eberhardus ab exilio remittitur, totumque regnum inimicitiis et rebellionibus confunditur. Eberhardus enim et Gisalbertus cum Heinrico fratre regis adversus regem conjurant, sed et quidam ecclesiastici viri nequam et Dei odibiles cum illis factione concordant, omniaque passim pacis et concordiæ jura turbabant."

He then goes on;

"Tunc rege Lotharienses, ubi tunc rebellionis summa gerebatur, adeunte, Gisalbertus cum fratre regis transitum Rheni regi prohibere volens nec valens juxta Biertanam sociis regis congreditur."

The mention of the "ecclesiastici viri nequam et Dei odibiles" shows that this is a summary of the whole year. Even the submission of the Lotharingian bishops to Lewis comes much later; but the reference is doubtless to the still later rebellion of Archbishop Frederick which this writer records at length further on. It therefore follows that his mention of Everhard at the very beginning cannot be quoted to confirm the account which Liudprand gives as to Everhard's active plotting from the very beginning. Of those plots Widukind says nothing.

He does not bring him in as an actor till c. 24, at the time of Otto's third expedition to Lotharingia. In c. 16 he only uses him as a date, to mark the time when Gilbert began to show signs of disloyalty. Nor does Liudprand himself bring in Everhard as really acting till the same time as his mention by Widukind, just before the battle of Andernach (c. 29). One can hardly build much on the ungrammatical sentence which opens c. 24;

"Igitur, ut præfati sumus, hujusmodi promissione animatus, immo deceptus, collecto exercitu, cum Gisleberto pariter atque Heverardo regi præparant bellum."

The nominative to "præparant" must be "Heinricus" out of the chapter just before. It comes to a little more when, a little later in the same chapter, Henry goes to Birthen "cum præfatis comitibus," which must take in Everhard. But surely these passages do not prove so much one way as is proved the other way by the words of Widukind in c. 24; "Tractum tamdiu bellum Everhardus considerans ultra non quiescit."

It is to be noticed that both Liudprand and the Trier Continuator leave out the action of Henry and Otto in Saxony, which did not concern their stories, while it concerned Widukind more than anything else. And, just as the French writers leave out the battle of Birthen, because their own people had nothing to do with it, so the Continuator leaves out the first application to Lewis, because it did not lead to any Western action in Lotharingia.

The battle of Birthen is recorded by Widukind (ii. 17) and Liudprand (iv. 24–26), and by the Continuator of Regino (939). There is nothing very special to comment on in any of these narratives beyond what has been pointed out in the notes to the text. Widukind speaks emphatically of Otto's prayers; but it is Liudprand who speaks of the holy lance of which he stops to give the story at length with many reflexions. And there is seemingly a reference to the same story in the shorter entry of the Continuator (Pertz, i. 618);

"Tunc rege Lotharienses, ubi tunc rebellionis summa gerebatur, adeunte, Gisalbertus cum fratre regis transitum Rheni regi prohibere volens nec valens juxta Biertanam sociis regis congreditur, *Deoque victoriam præstante*, pluribus suorum occisis aliisque fugatis, ipse et frater regis fugæ subsidia petunt."

Here are no details; but we may mark that there is no mention of Everhard. We may mark that the Trier writer uses the Nether-Dutch "Biertana," while Liudprand the stranger has the High-Dutch "Bierzuni." Widukind gives the place of battle no name at this point; but he had already casually spoken of "Biertanicum bellum." It is plain from Widukind that Otto went back to Saxony very soon after the battle. The Continuator leaves out Otto's second expedition, or perhaps more strictly puts all three into one, by leaving out Otto's journeys to Saxony. One would think from his account that Otto besieged Chèvremont immediately after the battle of Birthen. He goes on;

"Quos rex insequens usque ad Caprimontem pervenit, castellumque in eo situm firma undique obsidione circumdedit."

We learn the actual course of things from Widukind, ii. 18, 19, 22. Otto meant to follow Henry and Gilbert; but he was called off by the journey of Henry to Saxony;

"Regi post victoriam visum est persequi fratrem suum generumque. . . . Fractus [frater *sc.*] recenti regis victoria . . . Saxoniam adiens . . . Quo rex comperto, et ipse reversus est Saxoniam."

Then comes the mention of the Slaves (cc. 20, 21); then in c. 22 Henry comes back to Lotharingia, Otto comes after him, and besieges Gilbert in Chèvremont.

This second appearance both of Henry and of Otto in Lotharingia comes out most clearly in this chapter of Widukind. Henry comes back from Saxony to Lotharingia. He joins himself to Gilbert ("Lotharios iterum adiit, et cum genero suo, duce scilicet Isilberhto, cum suis militibus aliquamdiu moratus est"). Then Otto comes; he burns the possessions of Gilbert ("Iterum ducitur exercitus a rege contra Isilberhtum, et omnis regio Lothariorum illius imperio subjacens igni traditur"), and besieges him at Chèvremont (see p. 341). Gilbert escapes; the siege goes on to no purpose ("cum obsidio difficultate locorum parum procederet"); the King therefore, after doing some more harrying, goes back to Saxony.

Liudprand leaves out the second expedition altogether.

We turn to our West-Frankish guides, and we see how very much is left out in Widukind's account. The Saxon writer

makes no mention of the dealings either of the princes of the East with the King of the West or of those of the princes of the East with the King of the West. Both come out plainly enough in Flodoard. After his narrative of the affair of Montreuil, he goes on;

"Lotharienses iterum veniunt ad regem Ludowicum, et proceres regni, Gislebertus scilicet dux, et Otto, Isaac, atque Theodoricus comites eidem se regi committunt, episcopi vero, quoniam rex Otto eorum secum detinebat obsidatum, Ludowico se committere differunt."

Then he mentions the coming of Otto into Lotharingia, that is the second coming recorded by Widukind, ii. 22;

"Otto rex, Rheno transmisso, regnum Lotharience perlustrat, et incendiis prædisque plura loca devastat."

Then comes the English fleet, of which more presently; then we read;

"Otto rex colloquium habuit cum Hugone et Heriberto, Arnulfo et Willelmo Nortmannorum principe, et acceptis ab eis pacti sacramentis, trans Rhenum regreditur."

This is the second return recorded by Widukind in ii. 22; but Widukind makes no mention of the submission of the Western lords to Otto.

This second application of the Lotharingian lords to Lewis is the same as the first recorded by Richer, ii. 16, under the heading "Belgicorum querimonia ad regem super ejus levitate." As I have already said, he does not mention the first application, but his language now, though anything but clear, would seem to take it for granted. His words certainly seem to imply that something had already happened between Lewis and the Lotharingians. The application comes, as in Flodoard, just after the affair of Montreuil;

"Quo tempore Belgicorum principes ad regem conveniunt ac Lauduni apud eum gravissime conqueruntur, eo quod inconsultus omnia appetat. Si eorum quoque consiliis adquiescat, in bonum exitum res suas deverturas memorant; ad hoc etiam sese convenisse, ut quid velit eis injungat, quod cupit ingerat: si velit, consilio et armis, terra marique contra hostes sese congressuros. Rex ab iis fide suscepta, cum multa benevolentia redire permisit, se fortuna quandoque postulat, redire jubens."

He does not now mention any Lotharingians by name, but

he speaks of Gilbert, Theodoric, and Isaac at a later stage in the next chapter. He then records the action of the English fleet; but the second coming of Otto into Lotharingia, recorded both by Widukind and by Flodoard, is left out, and with it the conference of the Western princes with him.

The Continuator, as I said before, leaves out the second journey of Otto, as also both the submission of the Lotharingian princes to Lewis, and that of the Western princes to Otto. He does not mention Lewis at all till a little later.

The movements of Lewis at this stage are fixed by charters. The charter on behalf of Cluny is given in Bouquet, ix. 590. The King is described as "Ludovicus, pacificus, augustus, et invictus, Dei gratia rex." The Burgundian Hugh appears as "Hugo filius Richardi, vir illustrissimus et Marchio." The date is plainly June 20, 939.

"Actum in querceto juxta Dociacum villam super fluvium Carum .xii. Kal. Jul. Indict. xii. anno iv. regnante Ludovico rege in Dei nomine feliciter."

The place is the same as that mentioned by Flodoard, 947, under the names of Duodeciacum, Douzy, near Mouson on the Lotharingian frontier. The explanation of "Carus" by "Cher" might easily mislead. The stream meant is a small one, *Char* or *Chiers*, running into the Meuse.

The other charter (Bouquet, ix. 592) is "Datum iv. nonas Augusti, anno quarto regnante Ludovico serenissimo rege apud Lugdum [Clavatum] in Dei nomine feliciter. Amen." It is witnessed by "Ginsiabertus comes," in whom we are tempted to see Duke Gilbert of Lotharingia; but as there is another reading "Vinsubius," it is perhaps hardly safe. Yet a second visit of Gilbert to Laon was not at all an unlikely step to the action of Lewis which follows.

We may safely place the second expedition of Otto, his conference with the Western princes, and his second return to Saxony, between the dates of these two charters, that is, in July. Lewis does not seem to have crossed the frontier while Otto was in Lotharingia. He looked out from Douzy, and that was all. After Otto had gone back, and after things had taken a turn in the Eastern kingdom which seemed favourable to him, he set out, as soon as we please after the August charter. His action comes out clearly in Flodoard;

"Rex interea Ludowicus Virdunensem pagum petit, ubi quidem regni Lothariensis episcopi sui efficiuntur. Indeque in pagum proficiscitur Elisatium, locutusque cum Hugone Cisalpino, et quibusdam ad se venientibus receptis Lothariensibus, nonnullos quoque Ottonis regis fidelibus trans Rhenum fugatis, Laudunum revertitur."

Then follows the King's dealings with Bishop Rudolf, and then we come to the battle of Andernach and the death of Gilbert, but without any mention of Otto or of Everhard, nor is there any mention of Lewis's presence at Breisach. Richer's tale (ii. 17) is less clear; the heading is, "Rex in Belgica suos sibi sociat, et Ottonis fautores ultra Rhenum fugat." This is the first time that he brings Otto's name into the story, though he has been several times mentioned by Flodoard. His words are;

"Rex in pago Elisatio cum Hugone Cisalpino principe locutus, Belgicos exteriores qui ad se nondum venerant, sibi asciscebat. Et qui partibus Ottonis favebant ultra Rhenum fugere compulit . . . Qui vero sibi consentiebant asciscens, Gislebertum videlicet Belgicorum ducem, Theodoricum quoque atque Isaac comites, cum eis consilium confert, ac pro fide habenda jusjurandum ab eis accepit, post hæc Laudunum rediens."

In the blank comes that singular exposition of Lewis's motives to which I have referred in p. 447, as if Otto's claim to Lotharingia was something wholly new. The "Belgici exteriores" of this version would seem to be the same as the bishops in Flodoard's. But unless Gilbert and the counts now took a second oath to Lewis, their names, which come (see p. 453) at an earlier stage in Flodoard, would seem to have got out of their places. After the return to Laon, Richer mentions the affair of Bishop Rudolf; and then he comes to the third expedition of Otto—the only one which he mentions, by no means leaving it out, as Flodoard does (Richer, ii. 18);

"Otto interea Belgicos comperiens regis partes sustentare et a se penitus defecisse, Rheno transmisso Belgicam ingressus, ejus loca plurima incendiis ac ingentibus prædis devastat . . . Multam itaque prædam abducens, Rhenum transmeat."

In the blank comes, quite casually, that remarkable setting forth of the Lotharingian case of which we have already spoken in p. 447.

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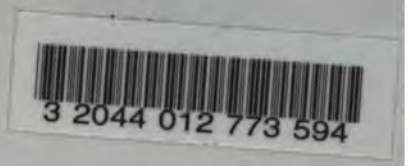

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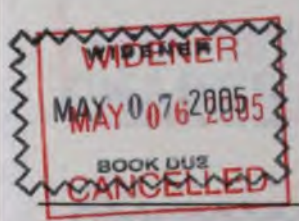
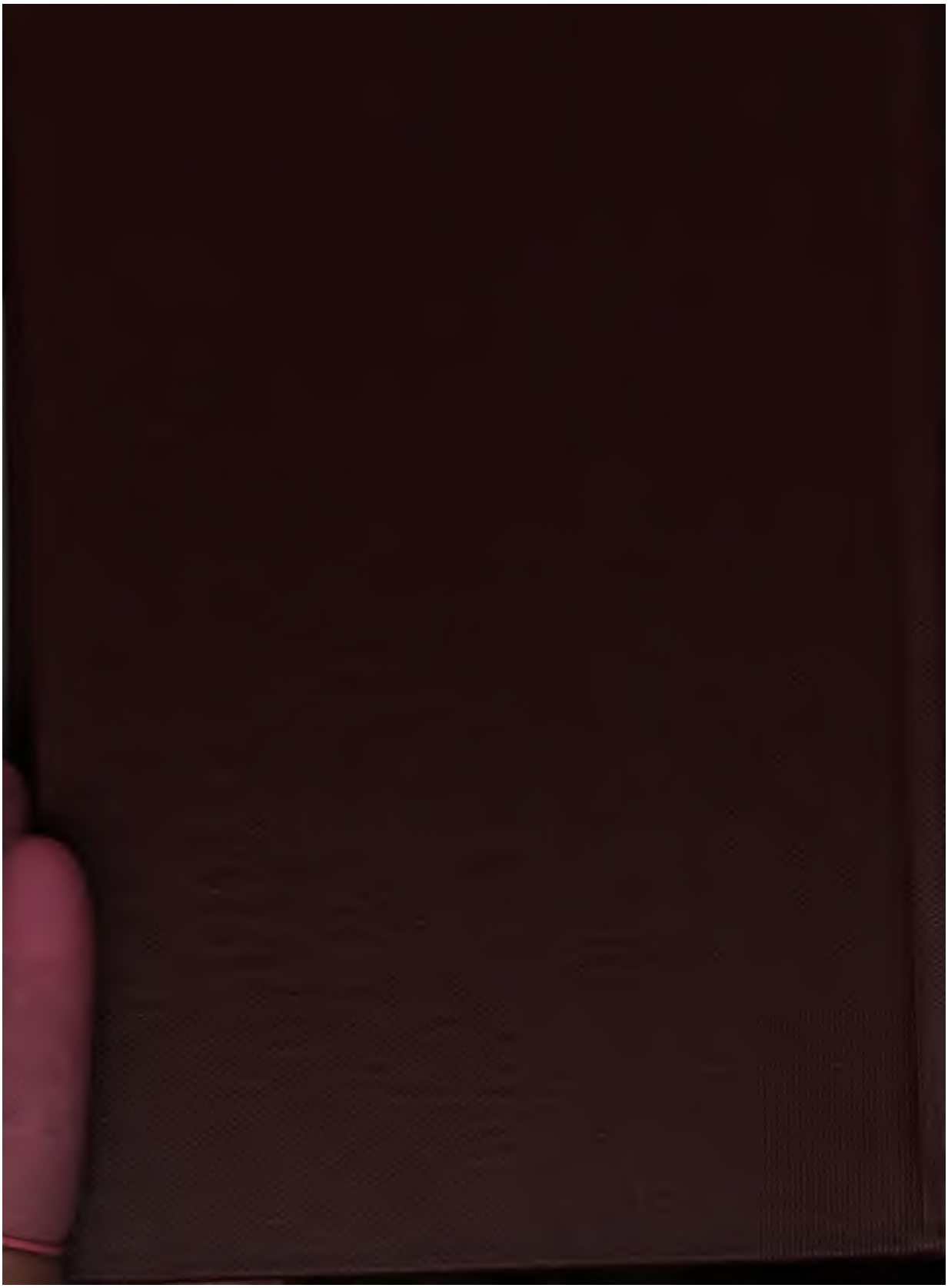
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